Critical Notes on CPSU History

by

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Translated by

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Translator's foreword

The present collection is a (rough[1]) translation of seven writings of Isaak Dashkovsky (1891–1972). The name 'CPSU' was coined in 1952, but refers in our context also to the pre-1917 history of the party (founded in 1898).

Dashkovsky wrote and sent the following three essays (1965) and a 'letter' (1966), – which we give the above title, – to the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS* [*Questions of CPSU History*].[2] These four items were never published by the journal:

I. From Critical Notes on Questions of CPSU History: [The Revolution of] 1905, Trotskyism and the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Delegates 7

II. On Problems of the History of the Party after Lenin (Reflections on occasion and without occasion):
1. Around the Thirteenth Party Congress [May 1924] 25
2. The Fate of Lenin's Letter to the Congress (Lenin's 'Testament') 56

III. To the Editorial Board of the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS*. Instead of an Afterword 71

IV. History of the CPSU at a Crossroads. Open Letter to the Editorial Board of the Journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* (1966) 85

These four items are the main chapters of a work that, Dashkovsky says, forms a whole. Dashkovsky also sent a copy of them to the *Institute of History of the Party* in Ukraine which preserved the documents.[3] The first three were sent together on 15 July 1965, and the last on 21 February 1966. There is an added handwritten continuous page-numeration (in total 151

[1]Some inserted cursive handwriting we could not read, and some of the (type-written) words we had difficulty translating. We also do not track down the precise English editions of many of the references. Our translation is a bit rough, but hopefully readable. We use yellow-colour highlighting or dots to indicate passages where we had trouble or which can still be improved.

[2]The existence of the journal *Questions of History of the CPSU* spanned 1957–91.

[3]From TsDAHO, the former Central Party Archive of the CPU, f. 59, op. 1, d. 348. The scans can be downloaded at https://www.mediafire.com/file/cdr4jq3i606q0ld/%27On_1905_revolution%27_%284-26%29%2C_%27Party_after_Lenin%27_%2827-94%29%2C_%27On_Party_History%27_%2895-113%29%2C_%27Open_Letter_to_Journal%27_%28115-151%29%2C_Dashkovskij_1965.pdf/file
I thank Serhiy Hirik for scanning the type-written manuscripts (and Sebastian B. for recognising their interest). Apparently Dashkovsky continued improving on them after he sent copies out, but I do not have their final version.

type-written pages in Russian), whose ordering of these four texts we follow. In his initial notification to the Institute the order of the first and second essay was switched, and we do not adopt that order. The first essay deals mostly with pre-1917 history (1905 revolution), so chronologically by its theme it should remain first in our opinion. Admittedly, the second essay on events around Lenin's death was more important politically. Therefore, readers can start with essay two, directly continue to essay three, and only then begin with the first essay (on 1905). Indeed that is the order in which Dashkovsky himself listed them (at the start of his fourth piece). And for the reader less interested in fine details of historical events, and seeking the broader picture, we recommend to start with essay three.
In addition, we translate here also a few shorter pieces:

Correspondence between Prof. I. Dashkovsky and radio commentator B. Stepanov (1967) 110

Political Self-Account to the Twenty-Fourth Party Congress (1971) 114

Letter on the Central Committee's 'Theses for the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of V.I. Lenin' (1970) 122

Dashkovsky's various other (post-1956) works, referenced by himself within the essays translated by us, also were never published. In their case we even did not have their manuscripts (and so we can offer no translation of these):
1) 'Marxism-Leninism and the Truth of History' sent to *Kommunist*;
2) 'Engels on the Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom';
3) a collection titled *Soviet Historiography and the October Revolution*, of whose contents only the third article is mentioned by name '"The Lessons of the Struggle [of the Leninist Party against Trotskyism]"[4] of P.N. Pospelov';
4) an article criticising the Stalinist conception of philosophy sent to *Voprosy filosofii*;
5) an article on the case of Fyodor Raskolnikov sent to *Kommunist*

The Dashkovsky-family archive, whose present whereabouts could not be located, contains the manuscript of his critique of the official history of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the

[4] Pospelov's article appeared in *Kommunist*, No. 12, August 1969, pp. 46–59. It was translated in English, see *Translations of Kommunist* (1969), pp. 53–72, Joint Publications Research Service, Washington DC: US Government Printing Office.

1920s (at the same time an autobiography).[5]

Further, Dashkovsky also wrote an *Excursus into the History of the Party*, from which Roy Medvedev (born in 1925) summarised a passage as follows:

> **On the so-called "Leninist draft" into the party in 1924**
>
> In his notes *Excursion into the History of the Party* professor I.K. Dashkovsky from Kharkov disputes the expediency and usefulness of the so-called "Leninist draft" in the conditions of 1924, when in the course of several weeks about 250 thousand workers "[directly] from the machine-tool" were accepted into the party ranks, and there were cases when all the workers of a particular workshop were accepted into the party. During the period of the Leninist draft, the candidate's probationary period was abolished for workers. In April 1923 (the 10th Party Congress), after the purge that had just ended, there were 386 thousand party members in our country. Whereas a year later, in May 1924, at the 13th Party Congress, about 736 thousand party members were represented, i.e. the party *doubled* in number.
>
> I.K. Dashkovsky writes that V.I. Lenin in the last months of his life warned the Central Committee against mechanically increasing the working core of the party. Lenin directly warned the party of the danger of its being flooded by petty-bourgeois elements from among the workers who had not been boiled down in the factory cauldron for decades (and there was no other workers to come from at that time). Even during the preparation of the 10th Party Congress, Lenin considered it the most important task of the leadership to *increase the barriers* to entry into the party, in particular by extending the candidate period. Lenin's position on this issue met with stubborn opposition from G.E. Zinoviev, who proposed to involve up to 90% of the working class in the party during this period. It was Zinoviev who was the main initiator of the “Leninist draft”, which, according to Dashkovsky, led to the dilution of the party with politically unprepared elements, which only contributed to the strengthening of the Stalin personality cult system in the mid-1920s.[6]

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[5]This manuscript exists and passages were quoted from it, see Grechenko, Volodimir Anatolijovich 1991, 'I.K. Dashkov'skij: naris politichnoj dijal'nosti' ['I.K. Dashkovsky: Outline of Political Activity'], *Ukrainskij istorichnij zhurnal*, No. 10: 87– 94. Dashkovsky also mentioned this work in his notification to the Institute, when he sent the first three essays on 15 July 1965.

[6]Our translation, p. 482, *Political Diary (1964–1970)*, Volume One, 1972, Amsterdam: The Alexander Herzen Foundation.

Dashkovsky was one of the fifteen signatories of the Democratic Centralist platform in 1927, and not a 'Trotskyist'.[7]

Though he rejects the label 'Oppositionist' (considering himself an adherent of merely Lenin's hitherto mainstream views), and certainly the label 'Trotskyist', Dashkovsky defended the reputation of Trotsky. In this regard, Roy Medvedev already had cited a passage from his fourth piece (sent 1966).[8] Medvedev edited the self-published journal *Political Diary* in the 1960s. In the West, there is only a very incomplete edition of this journal. Dashkovsky is mentioned several times already in Volume One (we did not check Volume Two, 1975), and so probably he was quoted even more in the complete edition. If Medvedev and Dashkovsky were not in direct contact, then certainly in some other way Medvedev had access to Dashkovsky's (unpublished) writings.

Dashkovsky had joined the Bolshevik party in March 1917 (so before Trotsky's rejoined). He was born in 1891, so a bit younger than Nikolai Bukharin (1888, joined in 1906), and a bit older than Nikita Khrushchev (1894, joined in 1918). He was not the only 'Oppositionist' who outlived Stalin, but perhaps the oldest ones to do so (without repenting).

Another economist and Oppositionist from the 1920s who survived the repression is El'kon Georgievich Lejkin (1901–86), who under the pseudonym Alexander Zimin wrote *Socialism and Neo-Stalinism* (1981 New York: Chalidze Publications) and *At the Origins of Stalinism: 1918–1923* (1984, Paris: Slovo) [*U istokov stalinizma: 1918–1923*]. These works date already from after Dashkovsky's death, so it seems unlikely that they were in contact, although back in the 1920s they had published articles in the same journal *Pod znamenem marksizma* (*Under the Banner of Marxism*). There is also Mikhail Baitalsky (1903-1978), whose *Notebooks for the Grandchildren* is published in English. Some non-Opposition Bolsheviks who likewise were repressed but survived are for example Aleksej Kosterin (1896–1968) and Sergej Petrovich Pisarev (1902–1979) who after Khrushchev's leave in 1964, opposed re-Stalinisation with the 23th Party Congress in 1966. They apparently are better known for organising also non-party dissidents.

It seems unlikely to me that they (and their circles) were in contact with the slightly older

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[7]We also have a scan of his article 'On Inner-Party Themes' (1925) in the daily newspaper *Kommunist* (Kharkov, Ukraine), 28 October, p. 4. There was a reply to Dashkovsky's article in the same paper 3 November, p. 3. by Segalovich. Thanks go again to Serhiy Hirik for scanning these. Scans of this newspaper seem to be online, but those particular dates are not online: https://libraria.ua/en/all-titles/group/974/ Dashkovsky's article dwelled on the lack of democracy and low quality of internal functioning of the party. Segalovich cynically noted that Dashkovsky's criticism had a 'delicate' tone, which of course Dashkovsky had to adopt under the circumstances.

[8]Medvedev 1989, p. 101. Medvedev, Roy Aleksandrovich 1989, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Dashkovsky who had an 'Oppositionist' past. Though again, Medvedev certainly knew him (quoting his unpublished writings). Although Dashkovsky's expulsion from the party was not reversed after 1956, he apparently addressed his writings more to the Party and other official institutions, rather than to the audience of young 1960s dissidents who had never been Party members.

His focus on correcting the historiography about Trotsky or the (ex-)internal opposition in the party, carries an additional interest as in his case it was a directly personal matter (as a surviving member of the Democratic Centralist faction, most of whose members were murdered), but, moreover, his notes are in general important as a preparatory ground for establishing or conceptualising 'what went wrong' in the Soviet Union. Dashkovsky thought that this task had not been accomplished yet, certainly not in a proper manner. He did not simply repeat his analyses or warnings from the 1920s (by then forty years had passed), or sloganeer for a return to Lenin's true path (which even Gorbachev later did). See essay three on this general issue of understanding the catastrophe.

Dashkovsky's essays from the mid-1960s offer a scathing criticism of the Khrushchev and early-Brezhnev era historiography of the Party (he likely also disagreed with that era's politics). Dashkovsky's critique is thus not about the inadequacy of a distinct 'Stalinist' historiography, or at least not solely about it. Criticism of historiography of the Bolshevik party already existed *before* the 'Stalin era', for instance apropos of Grigory Zinoviev's 1923 *History of the RCP(b)*.[9]

Dashkovsky was not a professional historian (he was an economist), but he tried to adhere to the standards of the field, that is portray events without subjective bias. For instance about the 1905 revolution (with its workers' soviet in St. Petersburg), Dashkovsky's account differs even with some of the Trotskyist histories:[10] just because the 1905 revolution was defeated, this does not mean that the Bolsheviks did not participate in it. 'Victory has many parents, but defeat is an orphan'. So, when Dashkovsky notices that 'Stalinist' historians accept and repeat Menshevik distortions of history, this is a problem not solely in Stalinist works, but can be a problem even of anti-Stalinist historians.

I conclude this foreword with a couple of quotes of Dashkovsky's economic analysis of the USSR, as reported in an April 1932 GPU report, which classified him as a Trotskiyst.[11]

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[9]See Ter-Vaganian's review in the important journal *Pod znamenem marksizma*, 1924, No. 3.

[10]Later, the Trotskyist author Tony Cliff relied on (the Menshevik) Schwarz's book on the 1905 revolution, apparently unaware of the old Bolshevik and historian Vladimir Nevsky's 1931 book on the 1905 uprising (*Sovety i voorzuzhennoe vosstanie v 1905 godu*): '... Trotsky [in his 1922 book *1905*, and in his *My Life*, 1930] holds the incorrect opportunist opinion ... that the creators of the Petersburg Soviet were the mensheviks' (Nevsky 1931, p. 9).

[11]*«Top secret»: information on State of Affairs in the country sent from loubianka to Stalin, 1922–1934*, edited

Referring to the economic situation in the USSR, the exiled Trotskyist [*sic*] Dashkovsky writes to the Trotskyist Eltsin V.M.:
"It is more difficult to say anything more definite about the economic conjuncture now: the trouble is that our national economic statistics have completely disappeared. You will not find anything positively, everything has become a 'commercial' or 'state' secret. The control figures for 1932 mark a definite retreat, with an understandable desire to 'save face' under one or another formulation. Generally speaking, there is a certain approximation to reality. In some industries (in particular, metal) the fate of the 1932 plan will be similar to the fate of the 1931 plan. The emphasis on metallurgy, chemistry and transport is, of course, determined by the international situation".

On the same occasion, another document by Dashkovsky (at the same address) says:

"As for the current moment, you probably mean the decisions of the conference. In this regard, I must say the following: the economic program of the second five-year plan is an almost panicky turn towards minimalism, covered by theoretical maximalism (complete socialism in five years). The first element, in the present situation, will undoubtedly meet with less controversy than the second. In general, it has become a kind of system to mask the unpleasant reality".

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by G. N. Sevastyanov. Moscow, 2001.

Essay one

From Critical Notes on Questions of CPSU History: [The Revolution of] 1905, Trotskyism and the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Delegates

21 June 1965, Kharkov

The distortions of the history of the Party did not begin yesterday. Their roots lie in the same *Short Course of History of the CPSU* [1938], where the hand of Stalin after 'ordering' the fate and lives of his political opponents also ordered the history of their political revolutionary activity. If one sets aside the 're-working' which the history of the October 1917 uprising underwent, then, perhaps, one cannot find a more vivid example of falsification and distortion than the history of the October events of the first Russian Revolution of 1905 and the activities of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Delegates, which was connected with the name of Trotsky and Trotskyism without quotes and in quotes.
The *Short Course* presented it to the readers in the following form:

> The St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies [...] ought to have played a decisive role in the Revolution of 1905. However, it did not perform its task, owing to its bad, Menshevik leadership. As we know, Lenin had not yet arrived in St. Petersburg; he was still abroad. The Mensheviks took advantage of Lenin's absence to make their way into the St. Petersburg Soviet and to seize hold of its leadership. It was not surprising under such circumstances that the Mensheviks Khrustalev, Trotsky, Parvus and others managed to turn the St. Petersburg Soviet against the policy of an uprising. Instead of bringing the soldiers into close contact with the Soviet and linking them up with the common struggle, they demanded that the soldiers be withdrawn from St. Petersburg. The Soviet, instead of arming the workers and preparing them for an uprising, just marked time and was against preparations for an uprising.[12]

In the one-volume *History of the CPSU* (1962) almost the same fable about the St.

[12]Stalin 1938 [not actually written by Stalin; 'The short course was drafted by Vilhelms Knoriņš, Yemelyan Yaroslavsky and Pyotr Pospelov, beginning in 1935. The unfortunate Latvian Knoriņš was arrested in the Great Purges and executed on 29 July 1938. The other two, now joined by Vyacheslav Molotov, had already got the message and wrote what Stalin told them, and each new edition had changes to damn those executed in the meantime, who had been praised in the previous edition' (Gerry Downing, 31 January 2019 letter *Weekly Worker* issue 1236).]

Petersburg Soviet is presented, although at the disposal of the collective authorship already was the additional materials in 1962 about Lenin, and Trotsky, and the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905, which gave the full possibility of a correct presentation of the events of that time.[13] To begin, though, with the claim that Lenin in 1905 was not in St. Petersburg, this is overturned by all documented facts, including also the biography of Lenin, issued in 1960 by the IMEL [Institute Marx-Engels-Lenin]. Further, it suffices to simply juxtapose what Lenin wrote about the St. Petersburg Soviet to the fabrications which Stalin in 1938 gave out for historical fact about the activity of this Soviet.

But first let us see what a good faith historian could find of the events of 1905 on the pages of the third edition of the *Collected Works* of Lenin, published in 1929, that is nine years before the release of the *Short Course*. I have in mind the eight volume of this edition. On Lenin we find the following data there. At the *end of October* (all dates we further give are in old style), after the Tsarist manifesto of 17 October 1905, Lenin moves from Geneva to Stockholm,[14] and after registration of documents for illegal return to Russia he *arrives in St. Petersburg* on 7 or 8 November, where he lives together with N.K. Krupskaya until 6 December.[15] On page 553 of the named volume there is told in more detail about the activities of V.I. in St. Petersburg and among other things about the fact that on 13 November and 4 December 1905 he takes part in the meeting of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and in the gathering of the leaders of both parts of the fraction of the RSDLP in the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies (the St. Petersburg appeal), and in addition he is present as guest at the All-Russia Conference of the Mensheviks. Let us recall that among other works that Lenin performed then, while in St. Petersburg, or nearby in Tammerfors, he was engaged in the preparation of materials on the agrarian question, on the convening of a unification congress of the RSDLP in Stockholm, presided over the Party Conference of the Bolsheviks and delivered there reports on the current situation and on the agrarian question, and in St. Petersburg he participated in the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, which undertook an Appeal to all Party organisations on the convening of a unification congress. All this very little resembles the fabrications of the *Short Course*, and also the slightly modified exposition of events in the present textbook on the history of the CPSU, where it speaks of St. Petersburg and the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. We also recall that in the chronicle of the activities of the Soviet there is a reference to the previous meeting from 27 November, at which the Presidium was re-elected in the new composition of

[13][1962, 1964 six volumes, IMEL]
[14][English LCW Volume 9, p. 500.]
[15][English LCW Volume 10, p. 561. Lenin is further also on 22 December in St. Petersburg (see p. 563).]

Trotsky, Sverchkov, Zlydnev (after Khrustalev's arrest) and '*decreed to continue to prepare for an armed uprising*' (underlined by me), and on 2 December there was published the well-known *Financial Manifesto* of the Soviet with revolutionary appeals, in whose design Parvus took part. The *Manifesto* was signed by the St. Petersburg Soviet, by the Peasants' Union and by the socialist parties, which, of course, included the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. It led the next day to the confiscation of nine newspapers and the arrest of the entire Soviet at its twentieth meeting on 3 December 1905, after which on 4 December 1905 'representatives of both fractions of the RSDP in the Executive Committee of the Soviet decided to declare an all general strike'. At this last meeting of both factions also Lenin participated.

There is no room here to go into the details of the listed events and many others, which I do not mention at all. This is the duty of professional historians. But already from this cursory review it is evident that the activities of the Soviet differ as heaven from earth of that rudely painted and *non-party* gag, where the Soviet is depicted almost in fashion of those organs of a Menshevik city municipality, engaged in 'tinning lavatories', as Lenin thoroughly laughed at the Stockholm congress in debates on the Menshevik project of municipalisation of the land.[16] The history of 1905 itself took care to present to researchers the relations between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, and even very concretely, their leaders – Lenin and Trotsky – on an until then unprecedented historical arena, when they were both on the very ridge of the revolutionary wave in an atmosphere of action and leadership of the masses, storming the Bastille of autocracy. But about the St. Petersburg Soviet we find in the one-volume *History of the CPSU* only three mean lines: 'The St. Petersburg Soviet, headed by the Mensheviks, did not take up the banner of the uprising, did not paralyse the actions of the government'.[17] Our modern historians are given to 'Mensheviks', with the help of whom they reveal their own gaps in actual knowledge of the events they portray. They concentrated nine-tenths of their attention on the history of the Krasnopresnensky armed uprising in Moscow. Here they took advantage of the opportunity to follow the trodden road, paved by all the well-known articles and speeches of Lenin about Moscow in 1905. The reader can find them without any difficulty and without the help of historians. But about Petersburg and about the Petersburg Soviet one encounters in the guiders of history a mass of white spots. They did not dare to go deeper than the surface, although in the same twelfth volume precisely on the surface lies note 262 on page 569, which tells a more detailed story of the

[16]Lenin
[17]1962, p. 103.

personnel composition of the Petersburg Soviet, and mentions the name of *special delegates of the Central Committee* in the [Soviet's] Executive Committee of the *Bolsheviks* A.A. Bogdanov and D.S. Postolobsky, as two of five members of the Executive Committee, and also mentioned as Bolshevik B. Knunyants (Radin), who played at the time a 'prominent role in the Soviet and [its] Executive Committee'.

The remarks of the authors behind the trees of factional labels of that epoch do not see the facts of the colossal deployment of the mass movement. They relate that 'the Mensheviks in the Soviet cultivated the idea of non-partyism', quoting Trotsky's expression that the party is only an '*organisation in the proletariat*', while the Soviet is 'the organisation of the proletariat',[18] and under hypnosis of this theory are found, evidently, also the authors [themselves] of the *History of the CPSU*, who seek the roots of all the evil in the Menshevik leadership of the Petersburg Soviet. But if they gave themselves the trouble to look into the content of the until 1940 unpublished article of Lenin 'Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies' (A Letter to the Editor), written 2–4 November 1905, when Vladimir Ilyich was already in Petersburg[19] and took active part in the affairs of the Soviet, they there would have found *Lenin's* answer on the importance of the question of *partijnosti* [partyism] in the work of the Soviet, which was entirely in tune with the viewpoint of Trotsky on this issue. Considering the Soviet as 'a temporary alliance that is to fulfil clearly defined immediate practical tasks',[20] not only as a strike committee, but as an *organ of insurrection*, in the course of which the Soviet according to Lenin's thought was to 'proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government' of the workers' and peasants' dictatorship (let us not forget that this was the epoch of the *first* revolution, which took place on a bourgeois basis), Lenin at the same time considered the Soviet in its political composition 'not too broad an organisation but, on the contrary, a much too narrow one' and was not at all afraid of too 'broad and mixed' of an organisation, advising to 'reinforce it with representatives of all revolutionary parties and all revolutionary (but, of course, only revolutionary and not liberal) democrats' [...] 'including even Orthodox priests'.[21]

In what did these proposals of Lenin differ at the time from the formula of Trotsky on the 'Soviet as organisation of the proletariat'?

Lenin called his letter a letter from 'afar'[22], expressing only his personal opinion, but this letter certainly expressed then also the views of the whole Party on the tasks of the St.

[18]Trotsky quoted in 1962, p. .
[19][This statement contradicts the date given as 7 or 8 November above.]
[20]Lenin 1940, p. . CW volume 10
[21]Lenin 1940, pp. .
[22]Lenin 1940, p. .

Petersburg Soviet. Such a 'letter from afar' Lenin gave the October 1917 revolution. But an attentive review of the entire political activity of Lenin in this era reveals more than a few confirmations of this opinion [of ours]. So, in his first two articles – responding from abroad on developments in Russia in 1905 'The All-Russia Political Strike'[23] and 'The First Victory of the Revolution',[24] written 19 [18] October and 13 [7] November 1905 Lenin wrote: 'Moscow and St. Petersburg share the honour of having taken revolutionary proletarian initiative. Both capitals have gone on strike',[25] while in the article 'The Denouement is At Hand', printed 3 November 1905, he quoted, translating from English into Russian language, these words of Trotsky from an article, printed without signature and title in No. 3 of *Izvestij SRD* of 20 October 1905:

> We have been granted freedom of the press, but censorship continues. [...] We have been granted Witte, but Trepov still exists. We have been granted a constitution, but the autocracy still exists. We have been granted everything, but we have nothing.[26]

Lenin wrote in this regard, that the '[t]he revolutionary workers of St. Petersburg made this [situation] perfectly clear', and added: 'The more tempting the tsar's manifestoes are, the more unbearable is his rule', [and] the 'tsar stands in need of both Witte and Trepov in equal measure'.

Through all that we are reporting here there is a *common* political line, which was upheld in the October-November days of 1905 both by Lenin and Trotsky in the practical leadership of the Petersburg proletariat.

The same is evidenced also by another document of the epoch – Lenin's article 'Larin and Khrustalev'.[27] The main content of the article is the polemic of Lenin against Krustalev's article about a workers congress, which was printed in the Menshevik *Narodnaya Gazeta* of 10 April 1907. Khrustalev developed there ideas, very close to positions of the future liquidator Larin on 'non-party committees', which Lenin called 'a purely intellectualist whimsicality'. But we find there a few lines shedding a bright light on the relationship of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in the Petersburg Soviet. Lenin wrote:

> Comrade Khrustalev appeals to "Bolshevik workers", and in so doing tries to set them

[23]Lenin 1905a CW Volume 9
[24]Lenin 1905c, p. CW 9
[25]Lenin 1905a
[26]Trotsky quoted in Lenin 1905b, CW 9
[27]Lenin 1907b, CW 12

> at loggerheads with the Bolsheviks, who have been agitating against the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. We do not intend to make any answer to that sally. We refer to Trotsky, who is "non-group". Let Comrade Khrustalev read his book *In Defence of the Party*; let him open it at the article entitled, § 2, "Mr. Prokopovich's Malignant Impartiality", *page 82*. When Comrade Khrustalev has read that article he will be ashamed of having hidden factional sallies behind a non-factional labour congress.[28]

The book or article of Trotsky named by Lenin was directed against Prokopovich, who accused the Bolshevik faction of agitation against the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and of misunderstanding its role. Trotsky reminded Prokopovich that the Peterburg Soviet was organised 'at the initiative by one of the two then existing in the capital Social-Democratic organisations (the so called 'Petersburg Group'), but the Bolsheviks sent their official representatives to the Soviet and 'were brought to trial and convicted not because they "furiously attacked" the Soviet, but for the fact that since the very emergence of the Soviet they actively and energetically worked in its composition'.[29] This statement, by the way, is very suitable for judging who was in charge in 1905 of the Petersburg Soviet – the Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, and how much in general the activities of the Soviet were determined by the factional composition of its members and members of the Executive Committee of the Soviet, who, like also Trotsky himself, were at that time neither Bolsheviks nor Mensheviks.[30] Did I not have the right to send on the same grounds the authors of the *History of the CPSU* Trotsky's article, since they depict in the year 1962 the Petersburg Soviet as a Menshevik organisation, *against* the assessment of Lenin about the fact that Moscow and St. Petersburg share the honour of having taken revolutionary proletarian initiative by the fact of common leadership of a general political strike, which allegedly in the opinion of the present historians 'did not paralyse the actions of the government'.[31]

I have already elsewhere remarked that Trotsky in the pre-revolutionary period of his political activities did not *fixedly* adhere to the Bolsheviks, or to the Mensheviks. In the *Iskra*

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[28]Lenin 1907b, p. .

[29]Trotsky 1907, p. 82. Trotsky, N. 1907, *V zashchitu partii* [*In Defence of the Party*], St Petersburg: Tipografi ya t-va 'Delo', Fontanka, 96. [A German translation (1970) exists: *Zur Verteidigung der Partei*. Table of contents: Introduction/ On the threshold of the Second Duma./ Workers' Congress: Letter to P. Axelrod, Letter to Larin/ In Defence of the Party: 1. On my 'polemical methods'. 2. Mr. Prokopovich's Malignant Impartiality. 3. Is it true that we are a party of the intelligentsia? 4. Is it true that we are a Blanquist party? 5. 'Critical socialists' of the grace of the Cadets. 6. The sensation of Mr Kudrjukov dans l'étrange. 7. Always in the ranks of the proletariat. 8. More on malignant impartiality. 9. 'Go and no longer yell!'./ Kautsky on the Russian revolution. Only a passage from the last chapter is translated in English in Gaido, Day *Witnesses to Permanent Revolution*.]

[30][This sentence ends with a question mark, which was probably meant for the following sentence.]

[31][It is not clear how Dashkovsky managed to get access to this Trotsky article and quote from it. Unless he found copy of the book hidden in some library, Dashkovsky perhaps found it in an old newspaper archive.]

period he began with the role of 'Lenin's cudgel', while after the Second Congress he by and by teamed up with the Mensheviks against Lenin. But his article [book] *In Defence of the Party*, written in 1907, marked the rupture of Trotsky with the Mensheviks and simultaneously the rapprochement with Lenin in the period of the London Congress [1907] of the Party. The epoch of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies coincided with the advance of Trotsky and Parvus in the newspaper *Nachala* of the theory of permanent revolution. Regardless of errors of this theory, it was never qualified as Menshevism by Lenin, although it also differed from Bolshevism in essential aspects, which were completely liquidated only in the beginning of the October 1917 revolution, when there was not only a 'rearmament' of the Bolsheviks themselves with the transition to a new stage of socialist revolution, but also a rearmament of old Trotskyism and its underestimation of the revolutionary role of the peasantry. But in any case such an important question as the relation to bourgeois parties, as the left bloc in the elections to the State Duma, and so on, about which took place a full rapprochement of the positions of Lenin and Trotsky at the London Congress and because of which there emerged a long struggle inside the Petersburg organisation,[32] does not allow one today to insist on such a claim about the Menshevik character of the activities of the Petersburg Soviet, which in spite of the facts persists in the pages of some modern textbooks on the 'History of the CPSU'.

All biographical data on Trotsky, in the third edition of the *Works* of Lenin, completed in 1932, radically differ from what we find on the pages of subsequent editions of the *Works* of Lenin, the fourth and fifth [edition], which appeared either in Stalin's time, and wore the stamp of their time, or were not completely freed from these layers even in our time, after the condemnation and exposure of the cult of personality. Applied to the situation of the first Russian revolution and specifically the October-November days of 1905 Lenin wrote that the difference between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks at that moment boiled down only to the exuberance of Trotsky.[33] In the mutual quarrel of that time, fairly common between revolutionaries and particularly, among the revolutionary emigration, one could encounter a lot of sharp words at each other's address in the controversy of Trotsky and Lenin. But it is not useless to report that, for example, the original source of the word 'windbag' at the address of Trotsky, which was apprehended in some articles of Lenin, was none other than Peter Struve, the ideologist of the Cadet '*Osvobozhdenija*', and even the word 'Trotskyism' carried the same Cadet mark, since the inventor of this term was the leader of the Cadet party

[32][Perhaps a reference to the struggle against 'ultimatumism' in 1909.]
[33]Lenin 1907a 'On the Tactics of Opportunism', CW 12

Milyukov. Both Struve and Miliukov invested in their definitions approximately the same political meaning as the word '*Blanquism*' had in Plekhanov, addressed by him in mutual polemic against Lenin and the Bolsheviks. All this can be documented by referring to materials of the London Congress or to the Cadet publications of 1905–7. This origin of the mentioned terms can seem strange and unexpected only to those historians who are accustomed to throw left and right the labels 'Trotskyism' and so on without care and interest, whence and how they have arisen.

At a higher stage of development of the revolution, in 1917, these 'exuberances' of Trotsky were the historical ground, which united the names of Lenin and Trotsky in the minds of the Soviet people and made them common banners of the October socialist revolution. October turned out to be a significant month not only in the revolution of 1917. It marked the highest upsurge of the revolutionary onslaught against tsarism, at least, in *Petersburg 1905*. Perhaps of some interest is also the circumstance that both in 1905, and in 1917 in the same October [month] Trotsky was the head of the Petersburg/Petrograd Soviet. Precisely this circumstance caused the special dislike of Trotsky on the part of Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin in the twenties, when they tried in every possible way to conceal and even completely eliminate the participation of Trotsky in the October Revolution and described him as a 'stranger' in the party.

Curious material on this question can be found on the pages of *Voprosy istorii KPSS* No. 11 of last year in the article of I.I. Mints 'Lenin and the Victory of the Armed Insurrection in Petrograd'.[34]

It cites Stalin's article 'On the October Revolution', [*re-*]*published in 1932 and later not republished*, where literally the following is said:

> All the work of practical organisation of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the president of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the skilful direction of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and first of all to Comrade Trotsky. Comrades Antonov and Podvoisky were Comrade Trotsky's chief assistants.[35]

In the article of I.I. Mints the October uprising is considered from the angle of a struggle

[34]Mints 1964

[35]Stalin 6 November 1918 *Pravda*. This article was republished until 1932. It is cited in Trotsky's *The History of the Russian Revolution*.

against those falsifications which are now current among bourgeois historians of the October revolution in the west. The author mentions the names Carr, William Chamberlin and Cole.[36] The works of these Western historians and even the above-mentioned article of Stalin are not available to me. It is entirely possible that in all these authors there prevailed a desire to play down Lenin's role in the October revolution, not embarrassed by the means [to do so]. But for the Soviet reader, and even more so for Party people it is not necessary to 'prove' Lenin's greatness in the October days in such ways, that one simultaneously should contribute to the denial or belittling of the role and action of Trotsky on the same days. There exists *one* obligatory criterion of historical truth for .. – the exact reproduction of all reality without any subjectivism. The Soviet people and the communist party did not come to wait for the painstaking and not always impartial research of historians, when they on the basis of their revolutionary mass experience, without which revolution at all also never occurs, inscribed on their October banners two names – Lenin and Trotsky, as leaders and organisers of the insurrection. There there was sufficient scope not only for these two names, ..who never vied with each other for a place, ...

Even if we turn to the most exacerbated relationship between Lenin and Trotsky in 1913–14, when Lenin expressed at Trotsky's address with the help of .. definitions, like 'Judas' and 'balalaika' and wrote about Trotsky's 'Tushino flights' – Lenin wrote in an article printed on the pages of the Party journal *Prosveshchenie*, No. 5 May 1914, the following lines about Trotsky:

> The old participants in the Marxist movement in Russia know Trotsky very well [...] Trotsky was an ardent Iskrist in 1901—03, and Ryazanov described his role at the Congress of 1903 as “Lenin’s cudgel”. At the end of 1903, Trotsky was an ardent Menshevik, i.e., he deserted from the Iskrists to the Economists. He said that “between the old *Iskra* and the new lies a gulf”. In 1904—05, he deserted the Mensheviks and occupied a vacillating position, now co-operating with Martynov (the Economist), now proclaiming his absurdly Left “permanent revolution” theory. In 1906—07, he approached the Bolsheviks, and in the spring of 1907 he declared that he was in agreement with Rosa Luxemburg.[37]

[36][Probably G.D.H. Cole's *A History of Socialist Thought* Volume IV (1958). *Communism and social democracy. 1914-1931*. Thanks go to Richard Day for this clarification.]
[37]Lenin 1914, 'Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity', Lenin CW 20

Further Lenin notes Trotsky's vacillation to the *right* (August 1912) and again to the *left* (1914).

At the time of the inner-Party discussion of 1923–4, which coincided with Lenin's illness and death, all means were used for the falsification of Party history, to drum into the consciousness of the Party youth of that time the representation about Trotsky, only as a participant in the August bloc and his conciliation to liquidationism. On this basis was developed the 'mythology about Trotskyism', as if the history of the Party froze at the point of disintegration of that time and suspended its further development. Meanwhile precisely at the beginning of the imperialist war began the ever accelerating pace of preparation for the next stage of revolutionary struggle, the peak of which was October, 1917, which opened a new history of mankind. In Lenin one can find the most exhaustive material on the question to which side Trotsky evolved in this time, and this material has nothing in common with the mythology that was created around Trotskyism by Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin in the mid-twenties. A more general conclusion of the relationship between Lenin and Trotsky is brought in Lenin's 'Testament'. But independently of that, of particular interest is one of the letters, dated to the second half of December 1916, which Vladimir Ilyich then addressed to Boris Souvarine, as a representative of the minority in the French socialist newspaper *La Vérité*. It can be found in the thirtieth additional volume of the *Works* of Lenin (pp. 283–92). In response to a defence [by Souvarine] of the charge of chauvinism [allegedly levelled against] Trotsky, Lenin wrote:

> I have never branded Trotsky's position as chauvinistic. What I have reproached him with is that all too often he has represented the "Centre" policy in Russia. [...] Trotsky belonged to Martov's party and left it only in 1914', and further 'he has not definitely said whether he wants unity or a break with the Chkheidze faction. [...] These are the reasons why we do not agree with Trotsky'.[38]

That is the starting point from which began later in 1914 Trotsky's move to the *left*. It ended, as we know, with the complete merger with the Leninists in the summer of 1917.

To what extent the consciousness of our historians is reflected in all cases, where they have to deal with facts related to the name Trotsky, shows the following example. In *Pravda* No. 277 of 6 December 1923 Trotsky's article 'On the *Smychka* [link]' with the subtitle 'More

[38]Lenin 1916, 'An Open Letter to Boris Souvarine', CW Lenin vol 23

Precisely: On the *Smychka* and False Rumors', was published without any editorial notes.[39] In it Trotsky suggested to 'stop jabbering about the *smychka*; realize it!' through the actual adjustment of industry to the agricultural basis and thus actually solve the central question of the Soviet economy and policy. This article was, evidently, Trotsky's reaction to Zinoviev's article 'From the History of Bolshevism', where Zinoviev in his customary [manner] gave much talk about the peasants, about the *smychka*, and so on, but between the lines also about 'Trotskyism'.[40] Trotsky's article developed the same thoughts as those contained in his report about industry at the Twelfth Party Congress and was put as the basis of the resolution of the Congress.[41] The question of the price scissors for industrial and agricultural commodities was only one of the forms of manifestation of this general problem of *smychka*, which, in turn, rests on the fundamental question of ensuring the *correct* relationship between the working class and the peasantry in all stages of the socialist revolution. For the elimination of doubt that the idea of the named article was Lenin's, and not Trotsky's [own], Trotsky reminded his readers of *Pravda* of the following episode of the Civil War of 1919.
On 7 February 1919 *Izvestia V.Ch.I.K.* No. 28 printed a letter of L.D. Trotsky, as People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs, addressed to the middle peasants, which contained an explanation of the policy of Soviet power in relation to the peasantry in the spirit of the Thirteenth Congress's program decisions on questions of policy in the countryside.[42] This letter was a response to a letter to Lenin from the peasant Red Army soldier G. Gulov, published 2 February 1919 in *Izvestia V.Ch.I.K* No. 24, where G. Gulov referred to the rumour that Lenin and Trotsky do not 'get along' in questions of policy in relation to the middle peasants and requested Lenin for clarification. Finally, on 15 February 1919 in *Pravda* No. 55 was printed 'Reply to a Peasant's Question' by Lenin, in which Vladimir Ilyich qualified the rumour as 'the most monstrous and shameless lie, spread by the landowners and capitalists, or by their witting and unwitting accomplices'. Lenin wrote:

> For my part, I entirely confirm Comrade Trotsky's statement. There are no differences between us, and as regards the middle peasants there are no differences either between Trotsky and myself, or in general in the Communist Party, of which we are both members. [...] I fully subscribe to what Comrade Trotsky has said.[43]

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[39]Reprinted in *The New Course* Appendix 3: On the 'Smychka' Between Town and Country – More Precisely: On the 'Smychka' and False Rumors.
[40]Zinoviev
[41]Trotsky, Theses on Industry (April 1923)
[42]Trotsky 1919, 'A Letter to the Middle Peasants' in THE MILITARY WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY Volume 3: 1920
[43]Lenin 1919, 'Reply to a Peasant's Question', CW vol 36

This whole letter was reproduced in the third edition of the *Collected Works* of Lenin, volume 28, pages 504–8, and in notes no. 157 and 158 on page 594 there was given a brief summary of the letter of G. Gulov to Lenin and of 'Letters to the middle peasants' of L.D. Trotsky without any commentary of the editors of the volume. The vigorous and the categorical answer of Lenin excluded then in general any need for additional comments, and the letter of Trotsky likewise did not leave then any ground for tinkering. Not long before this the Eight Party Congress [March 1919] took place, which adopted the Party program according to Lenin's report and a special statement on the attitude towards the middle peasantry. This letter [that is Lenin's letter to a peasant] reproduced the fundamental features of that policy which was established by the Eight Congress and which did not encounter at that time any opposition. It is useful to recall here also the special appeal of the Tenth Party Congress [1921] to all Party organisations and Party members, in which there was a complete unanimity of the Congress on the question of the interrelation of the working class with the peasantry in the transition to NEP. There it was said: 'The working class through its vanguard the RCP makes a determined offer to the peasantry, to expediently consolidate a revolutionary union between the proletariat and the peasantry'. A similar appeal was taken in the name of the C.C.C. [Central Control Commission] to the Party. Both these appeals were published in *Pravda* No. 61 and 64 of 22 and 25 March 1921.

It is quite clear that at the Tenth Party Congress, where a fierce discussion on the question of labour unions was held, the unity of views in questions of economic policy and especially in the 'peasant' question had a particularly important significance and was entirely conditioned by the genuine unanimity, that existed in this area then between Lenin and Trotsky.

But after the third edition of Lenin's *Works*, concluded in 1932, there came out in a few years the fourth edition with all the tracks of the 're-working' which it was subjected to in Stalin's time. It suffices to recall that in the main thirty-five volumes of this fourth edition there was found no place for Lenin's 'Letters to the Congress' ('Testament'), which first saw the light only in 1957 *in the additional* thirty-sixth volume.[44] A similar fate befell also Lenin's 'Reply to a Peasant's Question', which went out of the field of view of the editors of the fourth edition, although this reply had been already printed in the third edition. The editors of the thirty-sixth additional volume of this [fourth] edition do not explain the reasons why Lenin's reply was removed from the main volumes and limited themselves to the simple notification that this reply was omitted and is published in the addition [volumes].

[44]Lenin, "Last Testament" Letters to the Congress , CW vol 36

The fourth edition of Lenin's *Works* was published in thirty-five main volumes *without* Lenin's 'Testament'. This [testament] is the *conclusion* of the whole path of development of Lenin, as leader of the Party and the October revolution. But this same edition gave a place to an *essay* of Lenin, read by him a the dawn of his political activities in 1893, and with the sister of Lenin, ...no wrote... .

But the reestablished in its right text of Lenin's letter to a peasant returns on the pages of the thirty-sixth additional volume in accompaniment of *two* notes No. 582 and 583. The first of them contains purely reference material about the Red Army soldier Gulov and the content of his letter, but the second note represents something of the sorts of a 'clarification', which was supposed to serve as *antidote against the 'dangerous' letter of Lenin*. This antidote was absent in the third edition and was the result of the 'reworking' of Lenin's reply in the spirit of those requirements that arose after the death of Lenin, when they began t*o adapt Lenin's texts under Stalin's interpretation*.

In note 583, first of all, it is said that Lenin's letter allegedly is limited only to questions of the contemporary policies and does not relate to fundamental questions of the construction of socialism in the USSR, [and] the agreement of Trotsky with Lenin on these questions is called only *formal*. The contortion emerged only in the era of the inner-Party struggle of the 1925–27 discussion on the construction of socialism in one country, which were accompanied on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Party Conferences, at the Fifteenth Congress, on the plenary meetings of the IKKI in 1925–26 by a 'general battle of quotations' around these questions. These were the same conferences, congresses and enlarged Plenums of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission, the expanded Executive Committees of the IKKI, who by their decisions prepared and laid the ground for the flourishing of the whole theory and practice of the era of the cult of personality. All this happened *after the death of Lenin* and yet the author of the note considered it impossible to squeeze it [?] either in the body, or in the margin of the text accompanying Lenin's letter, written in February 1919 and [which] did not require in terms of its clarity any such accompaniment. It would be unnecessary to galvanize now these disputes on a matter, that in 1965 may be considered a complete anachronism, if the editors of the fifth edition of Lenin's *Works* did not reproduce in the thirty-seventh volume of that edition all the main features set forth in those notes to Lenin's letter, placed in the thirty-sixth volume of the fourth edition. Meanwhile it should be noted that in the interval between the fourth and fifth edition of the mentioned Lenin *Works* there occurred such an event, as the Twentieth Party Congress. It will therefore not be superfluous if I give here a directly relevant reference to the following content.

On behalf of the Central Committee to the Eleventh Party Congress in February 1922 a book came out by the old Bolshevik and publicist I.I. Stepanov-Skvortsov [1870–1928] (entirely unmentioned on the pages of *Ivestija* and other newspapers celebrating the ninety-fifth anniversary of his birth) under the name *The Electricification of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Transitional Phase of the World Economy*. The book came out with a preface by V.I. Lenin, who besides the preface wrote further a separate letter to the author on occasion of the publication of this book. In the preface Lenin wrote: 'I heartily recommend this book by Comrade Stepanov to all Communists. The author has succeeded in giving a very able exposition of exceedingly difficult and important problems [...] not for intellectuals, but for the working people, for the masses'. Lenin emphasised in particular herewith '[how] the author splendidly outlines the significance of the New Economic Policy, and magnificently answers the “airy” scepticism [...] about the possibility of electrification'.[45] And in the personal letter to I. I. Stepanov from 19 March 1922 he wrote about how enthusiastic he was over this book, *of which he managed to read 160 pages*.[46]

The question may arise, what does this have to do with the things about which I write in this article? A most direct relation to the question about the construction of socialism and to those discussions, which filled the Party on this question in the mid-twenties. On page 131 of Stepanov's book, that is on a page definitely read by Lenin, judging by his personal letter to Stepanov in 1922, one can find such a response of Stepanov at propaganda of 'construction of socialism in one country':

> Such an ideal [...] is a petty-bourgeois utopia. A certain approach to it is conceivable under the economic and political dominance of the petty bourgeoisie; in separation from the foreign world it seeks a method for securing its economic forms, which the new technology and new economy turned into most unstable forms [...] The proletariat of Russia never thought of creating an isolated socialist economy.[47]

Lenin's preface to Stepanov's book and Lenin's greetings to Stepanov about this book may serve as unconditional guarantee that Lenin fully joined Stepanov in these statements and warmly recommended his book to the attention of the whole Party not only in view of its general merits, but also, in particular, due to having precisely this formulation by the author

[45]Lenin 1922a, Preface To I. I. Stepanov’s The Electrification Of The R.S.F.S.R. and The Transitional Phase Of World Economy, CW 33
[46]Emphasis by Dashkovsky. Lenin 1922b, p. 570. To I.I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, 19 March 1922, Lenin CW 36,
[47]Stepanov 1922, p. 160.

on questions, in relation to which in the ranks of the whole Party prior to Stalin and his far-fetched 'theory' [of socialism in one country] there existed complete unanimity. And it would be hopeless to try to find in Lenin even a remote hint at the tendency to get on the path of national narrow-mindedness and '*kitajschin*' in the worst meaning of this word,[48] which even Bukharin rejected and stigmatised in moments of enlightenment, when he sometimes began to free himself from the confusion of consciousness in the period of his bloc with Stalin. In such moments also Bukharin was able to write 'Evil Remarks' on '*Eseninshchina*' – see *Pravda* 12 January 1927[49] where he correctly branded as 'national limitedness' and 'chauvinist swinery' the following verses of the poet Pavel Druzhinin:

> [Oh, Russia] It's land is like a treasure of the ancients;
> On it lies light and darkness.
> And in every hut there is a princess,
> And in every street a fool.
> Everyone wears colourful sarafans,
> And dashing trousers...
> What the heck are other countries,
> besides the Soviet one.[50]

However, Bukharin's attack could not appear then on the pages of *Pravda* if it had not been presented to the reader under [the guise] a of critique of the *Esenschhina* and Esenin, to whom, not long before the appearance of Bukharin'es 'Evil Remarks' Trotsky devoted a few positive lines in his article on the meaning for Soviet people of the poetry of Esenin.[51] The struggle with 'Trotskyism' was often also in Bukharin, and in some other authors a peculiar method of 'dragging' forbidden ideas, which in a frank form could not then see the light. Bukharin, shortly before he paid with his head in 1937, resorted once more to such Aesopian language when he published under [the guise] of an exposure of the Catholic Church and its Jesuit dogmas, such as the dogma of the pope's infallibility, and so on, [things known to anyone] familiar with the system of Stalin's cult, which was easy to discern even to the unarmed gaze.[52] Another time he advanced in 1925 with a criticism and disagreement of the Smenavekhite theory of [Nikolay] Ustryalov about the beginning of a 'Thermidor' in the

[48][In German there is the similar word *Chinesentum*, meaning narrow-mindedness.]
[49]Bukharin 1927, *Zlye zametki* [Angry Remarks]
[50]Druzhinin
[51]Trotsky 1926, 'To the Memory of Sergei Essenin'
[52]Bukharin 1930 'Finance Capital in Papal Robes: A Challenge!' [certain this is it?]

Soviet Union, where as the main argument against Ustryalov put forward at the time by Bukharin was the absence among us of *bloody victims*, which would inevitably have to accompany 'Caesarism under the Mask of Revolution'.[53] It is possible that even in this case Bukharin had in mind to resort to some kind of allegorical hint at facts, that appeared to be still impossible in 1925, but in 1937 were a tragic reality, a proof of which Bukharin himself became.

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The reminiscences of N.K. Krupskaya on Lenin, coming out in various editions in 1933 and 1934, as well as published on the pages *Bolshevik* over the years 1936–38, contain a lot of material about the Petersburg period of Lenin's stay in Russia in 1905. And on page 115 of one of the last, most complete editions of her *Reminiscences about Lenin*, coming out in 1957, we find such lines, which reveal the true causes for the failure of the first storming of the 1905 revolution in Petersburg and Moscow, which conditioned the defeat of the first Russian revolution and its attempt to storm the strongholds of tsarism: the weakness of the organisation of the masses, the poor armament of the workers, the almost complete lack of communication 'even of Peter with Moscow', the disastrous for the Cause's success disparity of the activity and mood in certain regions. In Petersburg, writes Krupskaya, a 'comparatively raw district like the Moskovsky responded to the appeal, but an advanced district like the Nevsky did not'.[54] Further she says relying on Lenin's utterances, that 'the St. Petersburg workers were worn out by previous strikes, and most important of all, they realized how badly organized and poorly armed they were for a decisive struggle with tsarism. And that it would be a struggle to the death, they had the example of Moscow to tell them'.

The summarised conclusion from this Krupskaya expresses in the following words of Ilyich:

> In St. Petersburg [...] the wearied and exhausted workers were not able to carry out the December strike. [...] We are now confronted with the new task of assimilating and studying the experience of the latest forms of struggle, with the task of training and organizing forces in the most important centres of the movement. [...] The

[53]Bukharin 1925, *Tsezarizm pod maskoj revolutjutsij*, Moscow: Izd. Pravda.
[54]Krupskaya 1959. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow

> government would like to challenge the workers of St. Petersburg to go into battle at once under circumstances that would be most unfavourable for them. But the workers will not allow themselves to be provoked and will be able to continue their path of independent preparation for the next all-Russian action.[55]

That is how Lenin thought about these questions in his article of 4 January 1906 'The Workers' Party and its Tasks in the Present Situation', which was cited by Krupskaya in her *Reminiscences*.

Lenin does not try to dump the causes of the defeat or failure on the Mensheviks, or on the Menshevik composition of the Soviets, like Stalin did in 1938, referring to the St. Petersburg Soviet, and how after him the historians of our time try to repeat this, changing the fundamental scientific demand in coverage of historical facts – the principle of historicism, which implies *full accounting* of all interacting factors of events without a single exception, in all their connections and mediations, as Lenin liked to put it.

Looking back in late February 1907 at the stages of the path taken of the revolution of the October-November days of 1905, Lenin wrote his article 'On the Tactics of Opportunism', directed against Plekhanov:

> Plekhanov tries to bait us on the subject of the boycott. [...] You have a bad memory, Comrade Plekhanov. I suggest that you recall the *Bulygin* Duma. Remember how Parvus and the new *Iskra*, which you supported, *opposed* the boycott at the time. The Bolsheviks were for the boycott. The development of the revolution brought *complete victory* for Bolshevism; and in the October and November days only Trotsky's exuberances distinguished the Mensheviks.[56]

In those days of 1905 the paths of Bolshevism and Menshevism in the Russian revolution so closely converged between them, that this allowed them to work together in the St. Petersburg Soviet and to share the liability for its activities not only before the tsar's court of Senator Krasheninnikov, but also before the court of history.

Lenin recalls in this article the history of the boycott of the Bulygin Duma. History decided the question in favour of the Bolsheviks. But it is necessary here to remind, that the continuation of the boycott line during the elections in the First State Duma was a mistake on

[55]Lenin 1906, quoted in Krupskaya. [Lenin CW vol 10]
[56]Lenin 1907a, 'On the Tactics of Opportunism', CW 12

the part of the Bolsheviks, which Lenin quickly and decisively corrected, so much so that on this ground he later had to carry out a struggle with 'Leftwing Childishness' in the person of the Otzovists [faction in the party]. Under the leadership of Lenin then was rejected the tactic of boycott and agreed to participate even in the work of the Third State Duma, which Lenin called Stolypin's pigsty.[57]

Subsequently Lenin often had to teach the Party similar *tactics of sharp turns*. On the memory of my generation one of the brightest examples of such sharp turns was the 'bawdy' Brest peace in the time of war with German imperialism. In the domain of domestic policy such a genius sharp turn was the transition to the NEP in 1921.

It is entirely clear that the relations of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks could not remain in all these turns in that fossilised form absolute and once and for all given opposites, as this is drawn in the scholastic depiction of many historians. From these fossilised forms of thinking originate all other 'qualities', from which now many historical works suffer.

[57][Added handwritten note:] In his *"Left-Wing" Communism*, of 1920, Lenin called [the Bolsheviks'] boycott of the Duma in 1906 'a mistake, although a minor and easily remediable one', whereas the boycott of the Duma in 1907, 1908 and subsequent years was 'a most serious error and difficult to remedy'.

Essay 2

On Problems of the History of the Party after Lenin (Reflections on occasion and without occasion)

'O problemach istorii KPSS posle Lenina (Razmyschlenija po povodu i bez povoda)'
Kharkov, April-May 1965

1. Around the Thirteenth Party Congress [May 1924]

As external cause for my reflections served the request of the editors of the fourth volume of the prepared *History of the CPSU* to the readers of the journal to speak out about the material of the article 'The Thirteenth Congress of the CPSU', printed on the pages of *Voprosy istorii KPSS* No. 5 of 1964. The actual cause, prompting me to speak in the unusual for me role of Party historian, lies in the subject itself. The history of the CPSU cannot but be of interest to every citizen of the USSR who is aware of himself as a citizen. It is of double interest to people who, at different stages of the revolution of our country, have taken active participation in it.

The preface to the first volume of the above-mentioned work formulates the intention of the group of authors in the following words (paraphrasing their general meaning): to stick to the Leninist principle of *partijnost* [partyism], that is uniting *watchful* scientific, objectivity and principality, as well as historicism, an approach to historical reality in the mutual connection and conditionality of all its elements, 'to expound the facts and events in strict accordance with historical truth, without falling into one-sidedness and subjectivism, [and] to overcome the overlays generated by the cult of personality in historical-party science'.[58]

One can fear, judging by the works that have been published so far, that not a single of these works is yet in a position to satisfy these demands. A similar fate, from my viewpoint, awaits also the multi-volume *History of the CPSU*, as material for which must serve the article of D.I. Nadtochiev 'The Thirteenth Congress of the CPSU', if the materials for the subsequent volumes will be prepared in its fashion. Already in the preface itself there are elements alarming the reader.

I must eradicate a misunderstanding that may arise around my words. I am not a historian and I never chose the history of the Party as subject of my scientific or scientific-pedagogical

[58] 1964

studies. But historians follow or should follow the traces of historical events. I was one of the active participants of many of them, if we talk about the history of the Party during my time in its ranks from the beginning of the February 1917 Revolution until my expulsion from the Party 7 September 1927 on the basis of the inner-Party struggle of the twenties. I can consider myself a contemporary and a participant in political events of the subsequent epochs which span the period of my stay under continuous repressions from 1927 to 1956, since, being the object of these repressions, I thereby became their own shaped 'participant', although involuntary. Everything, that happened after 1956, up to the present time, has in my eyes judicially rehabilitated all 'affairs' of the past, and there exists more than enough evidence known to the Party leadership, but until now not published, that I related to the events of this past epoch not only detachedly, despite the fact that old age and health condition, and likewise the undetermined situation of the question of my *restoration* to the Party, take away from me the possibility of a more active participation in modern Party and social life.

Over the past year on the pages of the Party and Soviet press there was something like a roll call of delegates of the various post-October Party Congresses. There appeared articles in the newspapers devoted to the thirtieth anniversary of the Seventeenth Congress [1934] and the fortieth anniversary of the Thirteenth Congress of the CPSU; written by caustic living participants of these congresses. In a determined sense this circumstance allows me to join in such a roll call as delegate to the Ninth Congress of the CPSU and a participant in several All-Ukraine Party congresses and conferences in the twenties. It would, however, be foolish to rely solely on my participation in the events of Party history in the October Revolution, the Civil War and the political life of this heroic epoch itself as a sufficient basis to undertake the *resolution* of the largest questions of Party history, which have not yet been resolved by a whole collective of professional historians. I cannot consider myself able even to put them in a right formulation of the problem, which requires preparation and preliminary research.

But truth is always concrete, and historical truth in particular. It can be dismembered without any rest into the simplest concrete summands, taken in condition of historical movement, that is development. And humanity in its progressive movement poses to itself, according to Marx, only solvable tasks. This allows me to put in front of me some of these completely solvable *particular* questions of Party history, which, I hope, can help later to come closer to the formulation of more general and fundamental questions.

On the work of D.I. Nadtochiev itself one can say almost nothing positively. Three-fourths of its content is a *retelling* of decisions of the Thirteenth Congress, which every reader can

easily find in the Party handbooks of the type *CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and so on*.[59] For this there is no need of historians, nor history. And there, where the true task of the historian must start, the author comes to a halt and considers his task executed, still not having taken a single step on the path to its fulfilment. The reader, going over the named article, remains in complete ignorance *what* of the adopted decisions by the Congress preserved its significance in subsequent stages of Party history and entered into life, what was crossed out and swept away by further developments of facts and what was the result of accidentally linked various factors, not corresponding to the historical reality even of that time, when the Thirteenth Congress took place.

The *narrative* part of the article, that is the story about the Congress itself does not rise above the level of a mediocre newspaper report of some kind of everyday 'voting-report' of a Party meeting, where by a quick hand are listed several names from the composition of speakers without intelligible exposition of the content itself of the speeches, rather only is given a protocol-like conclusion: they listened and decided. The author herewith 'forgets' even to report the names of the speakers and the content of the speeches. That in this case is not entirely accidental. The political report at the Thirteenth Party Congress was given by Zinoviev, in the leadership of the Central Committee still were found such figures at that time as Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky, Kalinin, and the to all known tragic fate of the vast majority, or more truthfully – *all* without a single exception of these figures. The general 'tone' in the leadership of the Central Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee was set still by the members of the 'Troika': Zinoviev–Kamenev–Stalin (the 'Leninist core'), on which only later there hatched what received the not quite legitimate name of 'cult of personality'. All these circumstances have so confused our historian that he considered it a good thing in his story to do without any 'acting persons' at all from the leadership of the Central Committee. This fear of names, the fear of 'personalities' (its own kind of 'phobia [rabies]' or 'anti-cult of personality') comes in him to the point, that he manages to include even the by him expounded report on [the publication of] a collected works of Marx–Engels or about the organisation of the Lenin Institute, made at the Thirteenth Congress, into his story without a mention of such persons, who made these reports at the Congress, like D.B. Riazanov and L.B. Kamenev. And meanwhile we know from the words of Marx, that history would be a bit too mystical, if it did not depend on the character of *persons*, in charge of the movement or leadership of historical events.

In general the article by D.I. Nadtochiev can serve as a model how not to write the history of

[59] KPSS v rezoljutsijach i reschenijach s'ezdov, konferentsij i plenumov TsK.

the Thirteenth Party Congress, trying to dispense with acting persons. He makes an exception only for the personalities of Trotsky and Preobrazhensky. But this is explained by the simple reason, that at the Thirteenth Congress these figures served as the centre of all attacks. And if they would not be mentioned, then there would remain no object at all for conversation and articles. In any case, the author also here tried to present the speeches of Trotsky and Preobrazhensky in such a way, so as not to say anything about the issues raised by them. He only walks around them with the corresponding antics and grimaces, to obligatory depict the author's negative attitude towards the Opposition of that time. Trotsky, it is said, acted only 'cunning and dodgy', and the speech of Preobrazhensky 'abounded with attacks against the C.C.'.

All this could not but affect the *purely factual side* of the exposition, where the most important events and facts disappear without a trace. Their absence makes the history of the Thirteenth Congress as dark and mysterious as the chronicles about the vocation of the Varangians and the beginning of Rus'.

I will try to recall something from that category of facts, which immediately preceded the history of the Thirteenth Congress itself, that was the subject of lively debates at the Congress, but at the same time did not receive any attention on the pages of a *special* work about the Thirteenth Party Congress. This is a prelude to how disparagingly our author relates in general to facts and events, that do not enter the by him in advance distorted scheme of exposition.

We are talking about a historical document of exceptional importance, that went down in history (but not in the Party collection *CPSU in Resolutions* [*and so on*], where it is *absent*, although the collection was published in 1954) under the name of *Resolution of the Politburo of the C.C. and Presidium of the C.C. of the CPSU of 5 December 1923 on Party Construction*.

About this resolution for some reason it 'is not acceptable' now to recall, perhaps for the reason, that in a house of a hanged man one does not speak about rope, and perhaps also because, the compilers of the aforementioned party collection 'forgot' to include it in its directory, and historians of the Party have not made the effort to 'catch' the filings of *Pravda* for December 1923, where it was printed. There is, however, one more reason which prevented historians from acquainting with this resolution before taking up the pen and writing about the Thirteenth Congress a bad retelling of the adopted by it resolutions. This resolution was not only *unanimously* adopted by the Politburo of the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission. It was subsequently approved by the

Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. of 15–16 January 1924, that is six days before Lenin's death, for introduction at the Thirteenth Party Conference [16–18 January 1924],[60] which also occurred still before Lenin's death. But here also lies to some degree the clue as to this strange fate, which turned the said resolution de facto into a missing charter the day after its publication. The Thirteenth Party Conference concentrated, as is known, at the initiative of the triumvirate of Zinoviev–Kamenev–Stalin its main fire on the 'petty-bourgeois deviation' of the Opposition, and under this rumbling clatter and rattle the resolution on Party construction from 5 December 1923 was imperceptibly *swallowed up – under the guise of its acceptance*. And the rattling at the address of the Opposition and the 'petty-bourgeois deviation', in general at the address of 'Trotskyism' gave rise to a *pogrom wave* against the Opposition with all the further consequences, including the 'cult of personality' itself, as its direct and indirect origination. Every historical analogy is inevitably superficial and conditional. But at the same time there exists justification, if necessary, for resort to the help of analogies, because in history, as in any other field of knowledge, 'everything is learned by comparison'. The fate of the resolution from 5 December 1923 repeated the fate of the well-known tsarist manifesto of 17 October 1905. In both cases the matter began with the solemn proclamation of all kinds of 'freedoms', and the next day began organised from above *pogrom waves* and followed by reaction, that blocked and sunk in a muddy stream all 'achievements' of the first day.

I am here able only to sketch some weak contours of the events, which are still waiting for their detailed research and researchers. But let us start for now by what Stalin himself said about the named resolution at the Thirteenth Party Conference in his speech of 17 January 1924. '[T]his resolution is the only one, I believe, in the whole history of our Party to have received the full – I would say the absolutely unanimous – approval of the entire Party, following a vehement discussion on the question of democracy'.[61] And one page later he returns again to it and adds even more categorically that 'it would be hard to find in the whole history of our Party another such instance of a resolution which [...] has met with such unanimous approval, and not only of the majority, but virtually of the entire Party membership'. Herewith Stalin casually noted that 'even the opposition organisations and units, [...] for all their desire to find fault, have not found occasion or grounds for doing so [, except for the remark]: yes, yours is a very good resolution, but don't offend Trotsky', and leniently conceded, having, obviously, in mind Zinoviev and Kamenev, who demanded

[60][The difference between a conference and congress..]
[61]Stalin 1924, vol 6

"Trotsky's blood", 'that someone really is offending Trotsky'.[62]

Let us stop here for a moment and try to restore the canvas of historical events, rejecting that historical mysticism of depersonalisation, about which Marx warned. We will take in all concreteness the personnel composition of the leading Party figures, who stood then at the head. Let us turn attention herewith only to a curious trait in the depiction of events by the article's author Nadtochiev. Without mentioning a word on the above-mentioned resolution, he at the same time considers it necessary to kick the Opposition of that time and in particular the 'Trotskyists', who allegedly '*imposed*' the Party on the wreckage of the 1923–24 all-Party discussion. In this legend about an 'imposed' by someone discussion is shown the kinship of the history of the Thirteenth Congress written by Nadtochiev, with the Stalinist *Short Course*, where the red thread also occurs apropos every discussion with a much-signifying nod against one or other opposition, that allegedly 'imposes' discussion [on] the Party. The same imaginary and 'imposed' legend permeates the style of exposition of Party history in the collective authorship, which compiled the *History of the CPSU* or *Essays of the History of the CP of Ukraine*.[63] The other side of that same 'philosophy of history' consists of the point that 'Trotskyism' is to blame for everything. The author is not embarrassed by the circumstance that the source of discussion before the Thirteenth Congress was the well-known 'Declaration of 46', in whose drawing up took part the debris and splinters of *all* past opposition parties from the 'left' communists to the Workers' Opposition inclusive. The author does not care either for the fact that the 'Declaration of 46' itself was 'imposed' on both the Party and the opposition by such stubborn facts of an economic and social order as the crisis in the sale of manufactured goods under a beggarly level of their production, the price 'scissors', the cutting of the link [*smychka*] with the countryside, the increasing unemployment, the acute questions of working conditions, wages and a number of other symptoms of the fact, that in the atmosphere of the first years of the NEP the commanding heights of the state economy, deprived of the necessary planned alignment of their most important constituent elements, fell into the power of elements, which threatened to overturn much of the positions won in revolutionary struggle, including also the restoration of a hard currency. All these phenomena were not a fiction [invented by] the opposition, or 'Trotskyism'. After all the same 'Trotskyism' in the person of L.D. Trotsky not farther back than at the Twelfth Party Congress developed the foundation of the normal operation of industry and normal calculation of industrial goods in conditions of self-

[62]Stalin 1924

[63][Dashkovsky wrote a long critique (unpublished manuscript) of the official history of the Ukrainian Communist Party, being himself an active member in the 1920s.]

financing, and gave the winged 'Trotskyist' name of price 'scissors', which was rooted for many years not only in Soviet literature, but also flew all over the world. History, perhaps, will write down some day, that exactly to Trotsky belonged the merit of elucidating at the Twelfth Congress the fundamental economic problems, which form the basis of the resolution of the same Congress on questions of the operation of industry, self-financing, commodity trade, calculation, price formation and not in a small degree will help restore the disturbed notorious 'scissors' of the *correct* relation between industry and agriculture, cities and countryside – despite the ignorant prejudice about an 'underestimation of the peasantry', which it is said *organically* belongs to Trotskyism and the theory of the permanent revolution in the *post-October epoch*.

All this was reduced to nothing under the conditions of the inter-congress discussion of 1923–24, which arose for purely economic reasons, but very quickly spread to inner-Party affairs.

There can be no doubt that the publication of the [*Collected*] *Works* of Lenin, adopted by the decision of the Ninth Party Congress in 1920 and rather badly fulfilled in the first two editions, with an immense number of opeiatok[64] (let us remember Lenin's indignation against similar distortions of his words in newspapers) released during Lenin's life, *after* 1924 was extremely forced, mainly, at the initiative of Kamenev and Zinoviev, who took advantage of this form of dissemination of Lenin's *Works*, to accompany his *Works* with an extensive encyclopedia on Trotskyism in the form of a stream of compiled literature of 1924–25 hastily concocted with the help of scissors and glue from all sorts of citations, peppered with acute percussion of factional circles and groups of the epoch of the Party's birth, the epoch of the old and new *Iskra*, otzovism, liquidationism, the August bloc, the Prague Conference, and so on. My generation still remembers this flood of readers and collections of quotations titled 'Lenin on Trotsky' and 'Trotsky in Lenin', from which also Stalin himself drew his knowledge of 'Trotskyism'. His own Party horizon of that period did not reach further back than the era of 1912 and the Prague Conference. Stalin was careful not to promulgate regarding his theoretical 'feats' of the Stockholm Congress. Still well-known enough at that time was his stance against the Leninist project of land nationalisation in defence of land division into private ownership as well as his 'thesis' that the emancipation of the peasants – is the work of peasants themselves, like the emancipation of the workers – is the work of workers themselves.

Not limiting themselves to these collected quotes, the editors of Lenin's *Works* tried,

[64][Insertion by Dashkovsky of a cursive word, which we cannot read.]

especially from the third edition, to accompany Lenin's text with copious overlays, annexes, notes, references, name indexes, subject indexes and biographical data, where the main emphasis was placed on the exploitation of a mythology on Trotskyism: not only about Trotskyism of the pre-October period, which would to a certain degree have been completely justified. No! All this material was mobilised and put into play under the guise of preoccupation with the upbringing of the Party youth, which was not quite familiar or not at all unfamiliar with the history of the question. In this *barrel of honey* about the numerous disagreements and clashes between Lenin and Trotsky in the pre-revolutionary period of Party history was added a huge amount of spoons of tar. Under guise of acquainting young Party cadres with the history of Bolshevism and its struggle against opportunistic trends, where in the first place after 1903 *Menshevism* arose, the matter was presented in such a way that the *main enemy* of Bolshevism before the October Revolution would seem to be ... Trotskyism, although during this epoch from the time of the old *Iskra* and afterwards 'Trotskyism', as an independent mass tendency in Social Democracy did not at all exist, and in the capacity of a literary group it fluctuated between Bolshevism and Menshevism, firmly adhering to none of these basic directions. Abundant material in this sense can be found in Lenin in all his works, in particular, adjoining to the fundamental pamphlet of that time 'Two Tactics'. As concerns L.D. Trotsky, it was generally known that in the *Iskra* period he acted as Lenin's most active collaborator, as 'Lenin's cudgel', and N.K. Krupskaya in her reminiscences about the period of the old *Iskra* still in the twenties called him an 'eagle' on the pages of *Pravda*. A short time after the split of the RSDLP and the resulting gap between the old and the new *Iskra*, Trotsky speaks on the side of the Mensheviks with the famous pamphlet 'Our Political Tasks' [1904] and the formula – 'Between the old and the new *Iskra* lies an abyss'. This brochure of Trotsky was dragged to light and republished in 1925 for heating up the atmosphere of struggle against Trotskyism, when the taking up of arms was required of the whole arsenal of 'exterminating' means of struggle of the emigrant circles and groups of that time among themselves. This was the period between the Second and the Fourth or unifying Party Congress in Stockholm. But in the same period the first Russian revolution of 1905 took place, the 'dress rehearsal for the October Revolution'. It is precisely in this period that classical Bolshevism arose with the slogans of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorships the proletariat and peasantry in the bourgeois revolution and the course towards armed insurrection against the autocracy. And in the ranks of Social Democracy crystallised the forces of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks – at the Third Party Congress in London from the side of the Bolsheviks and at the Geneva Party Conference

from the side of the Mensheviks, who were orientated to the liberals – the Cadets and the 'sovereign' Duma. In this same time Miliukov was first to put into circulation 'Trotskyism', which I talk in more detail about in another place.

The position of Trotsky in this period was neither Bolshevik, nor Menshevik, and found its expression in the paper *Nachalo* [The Beginning], which was published by the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in the theory of permanent revolution, effectuated only by the proletariat itself and with the slogan 'Without tsar, for a workers' government'. As is known from the named paper was born the Menshevik putdown '*nachalo-pomchala*' [the beginning was rushed, i.e. leftist adventurism], and Trotsky himself received from same the source the characterisation of 'Menshevik with Bolshevik temperament'. The practical activity of Trotsky in this 1905 revolution was brightly expressed in the fact that he actually headed the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies and shared its fate when the Soviet was arrested in its entire composition under Witte's Prime Ministership. The relation between Trotsky and the Party was expressed in the fact that in the work of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies there was active participation of both the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, but the history of the Petersburg Soviet still remains to this day a blank spot on the pages of textbooks on the history of the CPSU. This is partly due to the circumstances that toward that time local currents and conflicts between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in St. Petersburg arose, but mainly, by the circumstance that in the re-working of Party history in the twenties there existed already an intensification of inner-Party struggle, caused by *The Lessons of October* [1924] and other speeches/writings of Trotsky after Lenin's death, and Petersburg 1905 was pushed into the background [by] concentrating attention on the Moscow December uprising of 1905. There is preserved however enough evidence that the positions of Lenin and Trotsky during this period significantly drew near each other. According to Lenin in the period of the rise of the revolutionary wave in 1905, the Mensheviks differed from the Bolsheviks only by 'Trotsky's exuberances', that is the theory of permanent revolution of Parvus–Trotsky, but this theory in no way fits the Menshevik channel, if one takes into account that Lenin himself considered the 1905 revolution a continuous revolution, considering its tendency of outgrowth into a socialist revolution on the following stage under the deployment of the peasant movement.

After 1905 the subsequent reaction of the years 1907–10 was filled by the history of struggle against liquidationism, otzovism and political disintegration, which again extremely exacerbated the relationship of Lenin and Trotsky. This period of liquidationism and the struggle against it shielded from the eyes of historians the *very close rapprochement* of

Lenin's position and Trotsky in the period of the 1907 London Congress. About this there exist direct statements both of Lenin and of Trotsky, made at the Congress itself, but the authors–commentators took care in the notes on account of the London Congress and the writings of Lenin to 'neutralise' Lenin's statement, by explaining it to be a supposedly purely diplomatic consideration of Lenin.

I will not offer a detailed description of the change of the various stages in the relations between Lenin and Trotsky in the emigrant period of their activity before the revolution. This can be traced by any sources. If the authors of the 'Encyclopedia on Trotskyism' had limited themselves only to the restoration of relevant historical documents, then nothing can be said against this. But they used this restoration of the past, mainly, as a starting point for attacks on post-October 'Trotskyism'. Here history has completely turned *into conscious myth-making* about this Trotskyism, which allegedly joined the Party with the Petrograd group of *Mezhraiontsy* in summer 1917, having 'a stone in the bosom' and plotting to use every turn of the events of the revolution for opposing the Party in the form of a formalised Trotskyist faction or even party. *This mythology reflected the consciousness of whole Party generations*. The Party youth of the epoch of the Thirteenth Party Congress, *trained* on such falsification of revolutionary history by Zinoviev and Kamenev[65] and their nearest companions, insofar as it was not exterminated during the period of the cult of personality, now would be 60–65 years of age. But what was hammered into young heads [in their youth], with huge difficulties is pushed out of consciousness at that [old] age. Proceeding from this, I invite everyone who is seriously interested in the Party history, to use as evidence the material of all five editions of Lenin's *Works*, in advance disburdening Lenin's text of the commentaries, to which [in any case] they do not belong, even if their source is such an authoritative organisation as the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. I assert that after the return of Lenin and Trotsky from emigration Lenin for the first and last time used the word 'Trotskyism' in the period of the April theses and the April conference in 1917.

Speaking on 27 April 1917 at the Petrograd all-City RSDLP conference with a report 'On The Present Situation', Lenin said: 'the "old" Bolshevism needs revising'. He accepted at that moment the bolshe [unreadable] uniqueness of the situation that has arisen – the dual-power of Soviets and the Provisional government and the interlocking of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry with the rule of the bourgeoisie and defencism in the imperialist war. In the concluding remarks on his report Lenin emphatically emphasised:

[65]They themselves already in 1926 disowned their anti-Trotsky myth-making, but myths always outlive their creators and are capable of unlimited reincarnation.

'Old Bolshevism should be discarded' and so on, responding to Kalinin, who defended old Bolshevism. And about Trotskyism Lenin put it this way:

> Trotskyism: “No tsar, but a workers’ government.” This is wrong. A petty bourgeoisie exists, and it cannot be dismissed. But it is in two parts. The poorer of the two is with the working class.[66]

More in detail one can find of these statements in his polemic with Kamenev, who acted also at the time of the April theses and at the April conference as main enemy of Lenin and his course towards socialist revolution, clinging to the old formula. That is all of Lenin's utterances about Trotskyism *after* the February revolution, but before the October revolution.

Another important moment in the relationship between Lenin and Trotsky before October is the history of the entry of L.D. Trotsky together with the group of *Mezhraiontsy* (about 200 people) into the Party, that is the Petrograd organisation. Here there were no longer any mention from Lenin's side about Trotsky's Trotskyism, but apropos Trotsky was made a statement, based on Lenin's estimate of old Bolshevism, which can be found in one of Lenin's collections in the form of *Lenin's notes* during the [10 May] meeting with the *Mezhraiontsy*: 'The Bolsheviks de-bolshevised themselves and I cannot call myself [now] a Bolshevik'.[67] From here, if one does not engage in rumours and arbitrary constructions, leads a direct road to the understanding of Lenin's 'Testament' of 1923, where Lenin mentions 'Trotsky's non-bolshevism', clearly having in mind the mentioned statement [about] Trotsky when he joined the party.[68]

In all remaining years of the revolution, including the preparation for October, the October

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[66]Lenin 1917, 'The Petrograd City Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks)', vol .24

[67]Lenin, *Leninski Sbornik,* volume 4 (Moscow 1930), pages 301-3. [quoted in Cliff, *Trotsky: Towards October*]

[68]Lenin 1923, Last Testament, Letters to the Congress, vol. 36 [In 1932 Trotsky ('On the Suppressed Testament of Lenin' December 1932) responded to the false claim that Lenin's testament allegedly contained the words: 'His non-Bolshevik past is not accidental' in reference to Trotsky. Trotsky gave the meaning of Lenin's actual words: 'Thinking over from all sides on his deathbed how relations would crystallize in the party without him, Lenin could not but foresee that Stalin and Zinoviev would try to use my non-Bolshevik past in order to mobilize the old Bolsheviks against me. The testament tries, incidentally, to forestall this danger, too. Here is what it says immediately after its characterization of Stalin and Trotsky: “I will not further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them personally as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.” This remark that the October episode “was not accidental” pursues a perfectly definite goal: to warn the party that in critical circumstances Zinoviev and Kamenev may again reveal their lack of firmness. This warning stands, however, in no relation with the remark about Trotsky. In regard to him it is merely recommended not to use his non-Bolshevik past as an argument ad hominem. [...] Least of all did the testament set out to make a guiding role in the party work difficult for me. As we shall see below, it pursued an exactly opposite aim'.]

uprising, the Brest peace, the civil war, the era of war communism, the turn to the NEP and the first years of the NEP, up to Lenin's death, *there exist no hints of any kind of discrepancy between Lenin and Trotsky, connected with the question on 'Trotskyism' and the very word 'Trotskyism' is no longer met in Lenin anywhere*. We will have occasion still more than once to stop on this central *question*, when it comes to the exposition of the history of Lenin's 'Testament'.[69]

Even the theory of permanent revolution was presented to the reader *in different ways*, depending on the year of the release of one or other *Collected Works* of Lenin. Thus, in the first two editions published up to 1920, inclusive, this theory was characterised as an original approach to the analysis of the revolution. It was in the notes under the editorship of Ovsjannikov. Herewith there are no *hostile* comments to this theory contained in the notes. By contrast, already in third edition, which was published in 1924 and later, after the death of Lenin, the theory of the permanent revolution is portrayed as the breeding ground of all vices, and Trotsky as 'the worst enemy of Leninism'.

Only coarse intentions prevented the June Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission 1925 to read [out loud] Trotsky's letter, addressed to the Plenum, since it was written in accordance with its direct meaning without rumours and chicanery. In this letter Trotsky categorically stated on the basis of the facts, available for review and verification:

> [U]nder no circumstances can I admit the charge that I am advocating a special policy ("Trotskyism") and that I am striving to revise Leninism. The conviction that is ascribed to me, to the effect that, not I came to Bolshevism, but Bolshevism came to me, is simply monstrous.[70]

In other place, with regard to his theory of permanent revolution, Trotsky wrote, that on all points where in the past he had disagreements with Lenin, Lenin was right, that this question has only historical significance, that these disagreements had no reflection in the political and practical work after October.[71] In particular, Trotsky pointed out:

> The question of the estimation of the peasantry in this connection is of the greatest

[69]There is not a single mention on Trotskyism in the .... , where Lenin .....
[70]Trotsky 1925, The Letter of Comrade Trotsky to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party
[71]Trotsky, ?

> political importance. I absolutely deny that the formula “permanent revolution,” which applies wholly to the past, in any way caused me to adopt a careless attitude towards the peasantry in the conditions of the Soviet Revolution.[72]

Indeed. With all efforts it is impossible to discover on all stages the leadership of the peasantry in the October revolution, including the years of war communism and the NEP, whatever the cases of the disruption of unity of view and policy of Lenin and Trotsky in this decisive area of Party policy. *This letter of Trotsky in fact meant, that the October revolution was accompanied not only by the rearmament of old Bolshevism under the leadership of Lenin, but also a radical rearmament of old Trotskyism without quotes, with its undoubted underestimation of the peasantry, as an ally of the proletariat in the socialist turnover*.

The work of the historian has very much in common with the work of the investigator. The essay of Jurij Feofanov on 'The Man Who Doubts', recently printed on the pages of *Izvestij*, immediately reminded me of one of the favourite mottos of Marx 'Expose everything to doubt'.[73] I decided to apply the same criterion of doubt to the theme chosen by me of the 'Thirteenth Party Congress'. At the congress L.D. Trotsky launched the formula 'the Party is always right', which was then subjected to shelling from different sides. Zinoviev called this formula a 'sour-sweet compliment' at the address of the Party, which it does not need, and Krupskaya bluntly declared it as mistaken, since, in her opinion, the Party can and does make mistakes, and only *congruity with reality* can serve as a test of truth.

Even though not aware of this, the author of the article 'The Thirteenth Congress' in his retelling of the decisions of the Thirteenth Congress, not subjecting them to any doubts, places himself in dangerous proximity to this 'Trotskyist' interpretation of Party decisions, although he imagines that in his whole article he is at war with Trotskyism.

Let us see what was really contained in the speeches of the delegates of the Thirteenth Congress, who our historian represents as ardent opponents of Trotskyism, who insisted on adopting the resolution of the Congress on the petty-bourgeois deviation. For the author of the article the names of such delegates as K.M. Gulyj, A.V. Ivanov, G.I. Gnutenko, I.V. Drozhzhin and others presents only a simple combination of the letters of the alphabet, because not on a single one of them can he say anything beyond the fact that these names belonged to delegates, standing against the opposition from Kharkov, Odessa, Moscow, and other organisations. For him, maybe, such 'knowledge' is also enough. But as an *historian*,

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[72]Trotsky 1925

[73]27 February 1965, 'Chelovek, kotoryj somnevaetsja' [also the title of a 1963 detective film]

he should have been interested in the *personal biography* of each of the delegates named by him. This could have an important bearing on questions of the inner-Party life, with which Congress was occupied. Perhaps it would not be without interest to note also the fact that of none of these delegates the history of the Party after the Thirteenth Congress preserved a trace, and in fact each of them was some random person, who popped-up unexpectedly at the rostrum of the Congress. It would be of interest also, if the reason for their disappearance does not relationship with those circumstances that twelve years later led to the actual extermination of most of the delegates of the Seventeenth Congress [1934] and the C.C. elected by them. In any case this is definitely known in relation to Yan Rudzutak, and it is permissible to strongly doubt that, in case he arose from the grave after his untimely death together with many others at the time of the 'cult of personality' in 1938, Yan Rudzutak would again confirm all that which he was told against Trotskyism and the opposition at the Thirteenth Congress.

But we will not engage in divination. Let us turn to the material of the speeches of the mentioned delegates at the Congress itself. Each of them, as if fulfilling an established rite, began and finished their speech by compulsory attacks against the opposition, discussion and Trotskyism. But here, for example, in the speech of the Kharkov delegate Gulyj I come across the following episode. Turning to Trotsky, Gulyj spoke in a tone of denunciation: 'Your letters were circulated by comrade Primakov throughout the whole cavalry division, over all the volosts. What does this mean'? Here the matter is about Trotsky's letters 'The New Course', which were published in *Pravda*, from 2/11 December 1923 onward.

I belong to those Kharkov citizens who at that time knew K. M. Gulyj well. At Party meetings I more than once had bitter skirmishes with him about inner-Party questions, although I then, contrary to the created legend, did not belong not only to the Trotskyists, but also generally not to any kind of opposition and could name among my good personal comrades such a man, as the secretary of the Kharkov organisation Kuprian Kirkizh, the predecessor of Postyshev on this post. At the same time I still from the years 1919–20 of the civil war knew Primakov well, and even, being a worker of the 14th Army, participated in the 8th Cavalry Division of the Red Cossacks in the Holovanivsk district (Podolia), which was commanded by Vitaliy Primakov. In the same muster I participated under commanders Ieronim Uborevich, Moisej Ruchimovich and other members of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 14th Army – all perished during the 'cult of personality'. The speech of Gulyj is full interest for me also for another reason, which cannot but be of interest to the historian. From the materials of the Thirteenth Party Congress one can learn that Trotsky's 'The New Course'

was distributed then in France in translation and with a preface of the Trotskyist Boris Souvarine, and this was used at the Congress as a 'material' against Trotsky. But here we hear from the mouth of delegate Gulyj, that in 1924 the same 'The New Course' was widely distributed in the heroic 8th Division of the Red Cossacks and the district volosts, wherewith the distributor of this letter was Primakov. About Primakov one can get an accurate enough representation at least on the pages of *Essays on the History of CPU*,[74] where he repeatedly is mentioned in the number of *fighters of the workers' cause*, who perished in the Stalinist time, along with Tukhachevsky, Uborevich and many, many other of the best military leaders of the Red Army. True, the same *Essays* diligently keep silent of the fact that Primakov was a Trotskyist. But this is not surprising. This same 'posthumous operation' is relied upon by the collective authorship of the *Essays* also in relation to other combatants of the civil war, such as, for example, Yuriy Kotsjubinsky. In the Stalinist time, they were subjected to repression and killed, as *Trotskyists*, and now, rendering them historical justice and the honourable restoration of their glorious memory in the Party and people, at the same time deprive them of their *posthumous right* to enter into history as they were in life and as I and other opposition members knew them personally, being participants of the opposition of 1925–27, that is unconditional supporters of L. D. Trotsky.

About what does the speech of Gulyj at the Thirteenth Party Congress testify? About the fact that Trotsky's 'The New Course', declared an 'anti-Party document', was greeted by mass sympathy in such a military unit as the 8th Cavalry Division, and was supported by such a man as Primakov. I do not know the further fate of K.M. Gulyj,[75] I do no know what trace he left about himself in Party history. But the memory about Primakov the Party and people have preserved forever. The speech by Gulyj directed against the opposition at the Thirteenth Congress, in fact speaks in its favour, if we approach the decisions of the Thirteenth Congress and the speeches by its delegates from the historical viewpoint and from the *positions of the Twentieth to Twenty-Second Party Congresses*.

Having rendered 'due' to the struggle against Trotskyism in the first part of his speech, the same Gulyj devotes the whole second part of his speech to the *acute wage question*. We find in him the following place, disclosing the secret, whether the pre-Congress discussion was 'imposed' by the opposition. Gulyj saod, relating to the tariff policy in transport: 'Railwayman of the nineth grade, skilled workers, get on average 25 rubles a month, with an average of five family members. What is this? – the human subsistence minimum'? These

[74] *Ocherki istorii KPU*

[75] [Konstantin Markovich Gulyj was arrested and shot in 1937.]

words do not require commentary, especially if one compares them with those that Stalin himself at the Thirteenth Congress spoke about the causes of the discussion in his report at the enlarged meeting of the Krasnaya Presnya District Committee of 2 December 1923, that is when the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission prepared the resolution of 5 December of the same year on questions of Party construction.[76] We will return to this statement later.

In the speech of delegate A. Ivanov the obligatory criticism of Trotsky and the Opposition is pushed aside at the very end, 'under the curtain', but at the beginning of his speech we meet the problem of even lower wages than in railway workers, worried workers of other types of transport. 'Workers are not satisfied with 15–16 rubles'. In addition he attached here such a problem *as unemployment*, in connection with which, according to his words, comes to spend colossal sums on giving out on so called insurance', and 'at full growth' puts forward the question of the expansion of industry, as well as the need to raise wages of transport workers to the level of the wage of metalworkers.

In Gnutenko's speech we meet with such a proposal: 'The Central Committee should pay attention to it that with the Leninist levy [or draft] it does not turn out like after the purge we made in 1921, when fifty per cent was purged from those that entered the Party over the time of a few weeks'.

The fate of the Leninist levy already one year after the Thirteenth Congress partly confirmed these dangers: at the Fourteenth Party Congress [in 1925] the proportion of all workers from machines in the composition of the Party *again fell*, and at the Congress it was specially noted that the directive of the Thirteenth Congress on bringing this category up to fifty per cent of the entire membership was unfulfilled.

At the same time *Pravda* in No. 157 of 14 July 1927 (the article 'Results of admission into the Party after the Fourteenth Congress') ascertained a *fall of the growth* of the absolute number of members and candidates for the period between the Fourteenth Congress and the Fifteenth Party Conference in the following sizes:

In 1924, the increase in per cent: - 63.6

1925 - 39, 7

1926 - 12.3

In the speech of I. Drozhzhin we meet such a significant phrase: 'A new Menshevism is emerging ... the number of our students is more than 170 thousand throughout the whole country and is a very large chunk for such an impoverished country ... this is beyond our

[76]Stalin 1923a, The Party's Tasks. (vol .5)

means'. Hence the direct appeal of Drozhzhin – to turn down the cultural work, reduce the number of students in universities, in contrast to the demands of raising the cultural level, which was sounded at Congresses in the mouth of the majority of the delegates.

On 2 December 1923 Stalin made a speech 'The Party's Tasks' where he anticipated the main provisions of the resolution of 5 December 1923, which at about the same time Zinoviev and Kamenev expounded in their speeches. All three leaders of the Central Committee and the Politburo vied against each other *mixing then the slogans of the opposition*. Kamenev said that we would take from the opposition of Sapronov, Preobrazhensky and even Miasnikov everything that deserves attention. Some time later at the Fourteenth Congress Zinoviev suggested to bring to work all the forces of former opposition groups, previously draining the Party. This was a few months after the Thirteenth Party Conference where he stated that 'nothing can be taken from the opposition, but it is necessary to give it something at ideological poverty'. And Stalin said: 'I am far from considering our Central Committee to be sinless. It too has sins, like every other institution and organisation'. Elsewhere In the same speech he called remnants of the war those views in the Party, according to which the Party is viewed not as an independent organism, but something like a 'system of institutions'. Repeating the 'Trotskyist' formula even before the appearance of Trotsky's letters, Stalin developed the main idea of the opposition that 'the atmosphere of the bureaucratic apparatus (state), which for a long time will remain as such, facilitates the matter of bureaucratisation of our Party workers, active in this apparatus'. He further referred to such figures that in one of the Ukrainian organisations of a 130 cell, 80 cells have designated secretaries, and that 'if such cells are available in Ukraine, the more so the will exist on the outskirts'. Here I can not help but recall the speech of Em. Yaroslavsky during the debate against supporters of my resolution at the meeting of the cell of the Artem university.[77] In response to similar appointments in the Kharkov Party organisation Yaroslavsky referred to his impressions received ... in the Tyukalinsky district in Western Siberia, where he had not been long before and where, in his words, *unlike in Kharkov*, everything seemed well.

Stalin allowed himself to go even then to such broad generalisations, that every *correct* Party line almost naturally and inevitably *is distorted* when it is carried out in practice, and herewith found it possible to assign *responsibility* for these distortions not at the 'locality' following the example of 1929 [collectivisation], but at the central Party apparatus, as the source.

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[77][Yaroslavsky, right-hand man of Stalin, personally dealt with Dashkovsky's appeal for re-entry to the party in 1930.]

In his habit of enumerating his positions he listed in a number of points those forms of expression, that acquired the curvature of the Party line in practice. This included – the system of appointing secretaries instead of their election, all sorts of restrictions de morale, disunity, the closure of workers in the departmental shell, weakness of information from top to bottom and from bottom to top, lack of information conscious discipline, which is replaced by an orderly system, a dangerous separation of the party from non-partisans and much more from bureaucratic outgrowths to the party apparatus, that Stalin in his own way was ready to admit in words, denying in deeds by all their actions, the need to turn conclusion above all to oneself.

At the end of his speech, turning to the question of 'the limits of the discussion' he even took the defence of Trotsky from a wrong reference to him by a certain Radzin, as if Trotsky had said the Party is 'only an association of like-minded people', and not 'also an association of like-acting people'.[78]

What is the secret of this extraordinarily peaceful and benevolent discourse of Stalin in the midst of a discussion on the most responsible Party meeting of Moscow on the most lively and acute questions? The secret is revealed already at the beginning of his speech: – '*the wave of discontent and strikes over wages* that swept through certain districts of the republic in August of this year. The fact of the matter is that this strike wave exposed the defects in our organisations; it revealed the isolation of our organisations – both Party and trade-union – from the events taking place in the factories' and led to the revitalisation of the activities of hostile groups, including also inner-Party groupings.[79]

If one did not know this from the words of Stalin, then for an experienced the reader of newspapers of that time, this could not have passed without a trace, if only because it was precisely in those months that statements from active Mensheviks became more frequent about their rejection of Menshevik views.

Such statements usually beat off the hot effect of pressure of OGPU bodies on these groups. In any case we can advise historians, who take to writing about the inner-Party opposition of the epoch of the Thirteenth congress, to more often look at such primary sources as the collected works of Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky and other leaders of the Party and government of that time, and not to borrow one's information second, or even tenth hand. Of course, from this follows first of all to *open the special funds of libraries*, concentrating fundamental literary materials, that earlier were widely available, but in the days of the 'cult

[78]Stalin 1923a
[79]Stalin 1923a

of personality' all fell under a ban. This is one of the most important circumstances, which hinder readers of literature on the history of the Party *to check facts through documents and primary sources*, taking nothing on face value. In matters of politics, as Lenin said, '[o]nly a hopeless idiot will believe oral statements'.[80] 'History – is politics, overturning in the past', as M.N. Pokrovsky liked to say.[81]

Many times it is required such enhancement of publication of archives of documents, having accumulated during the years of the 'cult' and virtually inaccessible to anyone, except a narrow circle of 'elect', in general – *more light and publicity in everything*.

Less than two weeks after Stalin's 2 December 1923 speech on questions of discussion, he again had occasion to speak on the pages of *Pravda* 15 December 1923 with a big article under the title 'The Discussion, Rafail, the Articles by Preobrazhensky and Sapronov, and Trotsky's Letter'.[82] From this article we learn that at moment the opposition, according to Stalin, represented a bloc of the 'left' communists with the so-called democratic centralists. This is a note of the Nadtochiev, to whom he is evident 'Trotskyism'. About Trotsky Stalin then wrote that on his letter lies 'print duality', and *first* noted actual block Trotsky from named groupings in the party. But us interests now not this side of Stalin's article, but his polemic with Rafail (Farbman) on the issue of whether to consider the Party an army organization with barracks discipline, as this was indicated by the opposition in the person of Rafail, or whether the Party is an independent organism, existing on the principles of voluntary unification of thought and action of people, whose lead is regulated by conscious and voluntary discipline. Stalin, of course, defended the latter. But by what means?

At the centre of his reasoning was the formulation of the question on the relationship between the headquarters and the organisation in conditions of *war* and a *party*, that is civil form of existence. According to Stalin an *army is formed by the General Staff*, on which depends the line of supply, and so on, whereas in a party organisation the Party forms its own General Staff. From this he concluded the difference in character of party and army discipline. In the first case the highest measure of violation of party discipline – is exclusion

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[80]Lenin 1921, 'The Party Crisis', vol 32

[81][История есть политика, опрокинутая в прошлое We quote some online source on this:
'There is also a statement by Pokrovsky, containing a comparison of history and politics: "History is the politics of the past; without which it is impossible to understand the policy of the present". MN Pokrovsky put forward a provision on the Marxist historical understanding, and not positivist understanding - that the proletariat is interested in an undistorted description of history, and the bourgeoisie always distorts history.
Contemporary authors believe that Pokrovsky made a start from the statement of the British historian Edward Freeman (1823-1892): "History is the politics of the past, and politics is the history of the present." ("Methods of historical research", 1886). In other sources this saying is attributed to the British historian J. Seeley (1834-1895)'.]

[82]Stalin 1923b, vol 5

from the Party. In the second case – a violation of army discipline – the highest measure of punishment is execution. On the basis of these considerations Stalin called then the position of Rafail a *monstrous mistake*.

How, however, should we now regard this dispute, when we are obliged to take into account the unparalleled consequences of the cult of personality which expired terrible decades, especially the decades, following Thirteenth Party Congress? Of course, under *normal conditions of Party life*, the Party Congresses always form their General Staff – the Central Committee. But, not speaking about 'occasional' co-optation, which by that time acquires broadest distribution (Stalin himself after all was only co-opted in absentia in the composition of the Central Committee at the Prague Conference [1912]), on cases of appointments from above, about which testify the earlier given figures – is it not a tragic fate that the Seventeenth Party Congress [1934] did not again raise this issue in the most acute form? Was not then finally erased the border between military and civilian General Staff, when three-quarters of the composition of the Seventeenth Congress and the elected by it Central Committee was 'disbanded' by Stalin and his henchmen through direct extermination? And through what methods after the massacre on the Seventeenth Congress the composition *was formed* of the delegates of the Eighteenth Congress in 1939, and what part the Central Committee played in this *formation* of the Congress, on this the following figures testify: the Party did not reach by this time (in comparison with the era of the Seventeenth Congress) 270 thousand persons, that is it lost in five years from 1934 to 1939 *more* than it received through the Leninist levy in 1924. And its qualitative composition changed in this way: at the Eighteenth Party Congress seventy per cent of all delegates entered the Party only after 1929, that is did not participate either in the underground or in the revolution, nor in the civil war. At the previous Congress solely the participants of the underground and civil war among delegates constituted eighty per cent. The *extermination of cadre* effected mainly the old Party guard. This was a specific method of 'rejuvenation' of the composition of Party and Congresses. Was not this the way the border was erased between expulsion from the Party and execution, about which could 'witnesses', unfortunately, only the dead, if they could rise out of the graves? Stalin did not hesitate in the same speech to put also such a question, the very formulation of which sounded wildly after his speech from 2 December 1923.

'How to explain the influx of workers into the party, the growth of its influence among non-Party masses'? We have already seen how in reality the case stood in August 1923, when, according to Stalin's own words, the '*defects revealed by the strike wave were exposed to the*

Party so glaringly, and with such a sobering effect, that it felt the necessity for internal Party changes'.[83]

And in Zinoviev's article 'The New Tasks of the Party', printed on pages of Pravda 7 October 1923, that is on the October anniversary, with the call of the editorial board to engage in discussion on the questions posed in it, we can find such a phrase: 'Our main trouble is that questions go from top to bottom *in a pre-decided way*'. Zinoviev counted then as *central task* the necessity 'to raise the political upbringing of Party members to the height, corresponding to the cultural level of the whole working masses'. This was said about a Party, which was supposed to be the *vanguard of the class*. That is the damning conclusion, which we then find in full compliance also with the other result: 'In the Soviets the Communists are chosen easily, in factories – more difficult, in the trade union committees – even more difficult and especially difficult in the R.K.K. [Assessment and Conflict Commissions]'.

'In this area, – Zinoviev melancholically concluded his article, – Communists do not yet have the proper trust'.

One cannot ignore the manner in which D.I. Nadtochiev presents to the modern reader the speech of N. Krupskaya at the Thirteenth Party Congress. He confines himself to the comment that the Congress greeted with applause her sentence 'to recognise the policy of the C.C. and the policy of the whole Party [as] correct'.

But Krupskaya spoke *not only about this*. She protested in connection with the fact that instead of discussions of the new tasks of the Party, standing on the waiting list, the leaders of the Congress and above all Zinoviev and Stalin engaged in a *duplication* of the just concluded discussion, which carried 'excessive sharpness in relation between the former opposition and the Party core'. Krupskaya sharply condemned the psychologically impossible, in her words, formulation of the question to the opposition: 'Say from the tribune that you are wrong', whereas 'only further development of the work can prove or reject this'.

Krupskaya urged to recognise as sufficient the opposition's statement of the desire to work together, as well as the statement, contained in the words of Trotsky against factions and groupings.

But the Thirteenth Congress was deaf to these calls, and consequently this deafness was the experience that forcibly made dozens of years later the Twenty-Second Party Congress admit, that the Party paid too dear a price for not timely listening to the wise advice of V.I. Lenin. We see that this Congress ignored not only the words of Lenin, it remained deaf also

[83]Stalin 1923 (emphasised by me).

to the call of N.K. Krupskaya. But the historians, who are now obliged to judge this dispute between the dead, who were then still alive, are even less able to do this than the dead themselves; from the latter there remained, at least, in some cases, traces recorded on paper and documents, that allow a restoration of the picture of events.

I have in my hands the third edition of Lenin's *Works*, which was edited by Bukharin, Molotov and Saveliev with the close collaboration of Kamenev. In the 'Directory' to these volumes on the pages 421–2 one can find an index entitled 'Trotsky and Trotskyism', with the exhaustive review of all places, where Lenin speaks about Trotsky. In volumes XX and XXI of this edition, which contains Lenin's works and speeches in 1917, one can find eleven cases of mentioning Trotsky, six of them refer to the first period of the revolution, March-June 1917 (volume XX), and five references cover the period July-October, including the moment of the uprising (volume XXI). A review of all these cases allows us to establish that 17 March 1917, that is at the very beginning of the February Revolution Lenin in his letter to A.M. Kollontai from Switzerland still cautioned her against 'stupid "unification" attempts with the social-patriots (or, what is still more dangerous, with the wobblers like the Organising Committee, Trotsky and Co.)' and at the same time reported in the *first* outline of the theses, compiled in emigration still without the certainty of a successful passage to Russia.[84] Already in them, as *germ* of the April theses, such slogans figure as 'preparation for the conquest of power by the Soviets', '*finish off* the reactionaries, *not a shadow of confidence* or support for the new government [...] *armed* temporising, *armed preparation* of a *wider* base for a *higher* stage'. We now know that in these words already then was contained a condemnation of the position occupied by Kamenev, Stalin and Molotov, when they oriented the Party toward conditional support of the Provisional government.

The last mention of Trotsky in the twentieth volume relates to the speech of Lenin at a meeting of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks 12 June (30 May) 1917 on the issue of the intention to have its own press organ. Lenin *twice* spoke on this issue and in contrast to the proposal of the C.C. said:

'The desire of the Petrograd Committee [...] is difficult to understand [...] *when* [...] *an agreement is about to be reached with the Inter-District group for getting Comrade Trotsky to edit a popular organ*'.[85] On the next page 448 we again meet with the name Trotsky, who, in Lenin's words, 'the Central Committee is enlisting the services of' for the establishment of a popular newspaper and herewith recalls how Trotsky 'has succeeded in

[84]Lenin 1917, 17 March, Letter to Alexandra Kollontai, vol 35
[85]Lenin 1917, (my emphasis). 'Meeting of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks)' vol 24

establishing his own popular organ *Russkaya Gazeta*' in 1905, which, according to note 205 in volume XX, he published in St. Petersburg jointly with Parvus.

It is already clear from this, that in a short period of less than three months between the 17 March and 12 June 1917 the relationship between Lenin and Trotsky radically changed towards *rapprochement* even before Trotsky's entry into the ranks of the Bolsheviks together with the *Mezhraiontsy*, and this is confirmed by a number of passing mentions by Lenin on Trotsky in the same volume XX, which show, how Lenin reacted to the confinement of Trotsky in England on his way to Russia, and how he reacted to the deliberate slowness of the Provisional Government (Milyukov), which only under pressure took the step to liberate Trotsky.

Volume XXI contains the first mention of Trotsky on page 40, where Lenin's reply to the prosecutor of the Provisional Government after the faltering of the July Days of 1917, published in the newspaper *Rabochy i soldat* No. 3 and 4. On page 219 in an article 'From a Publicist's Diary', which referred to 'the mistakes of our party', Lenin sharply criticised the behaviour of Kamenev, who stood for the participation of the Bolsheviks in the Pre-parliament ('Democratic Conference'), but about Trotsky he wrote as follows: 'Trotsky was for the boycott. Bravo, Comrade Trotsky'![86] In note 89 it says: the Bolshevik faction left the Pre-parliament at the first meeting after the announcement of Trotsky's declaration. There it is further stated that the question of the boycott was discussed twice in the Central Committee.

The second time Kamenev voted not only against the decision to withdraw from the Pre-Parliament, but even filed an application to release him from all obligations in the Party organisation. In this statement Kamenev wrote, that 'the decision to withdraw about the first meeting of the "Council of the Russian Republic" predetermines the tactics of the Party for the next period in a direction which I can consider very dangerous for the Party'. This was written on 5/18 October 1917 and was completely in accord with the strike-breaking of Kamenev and Zinoviev in October. And Stalin in 1924 presented this episode in such a form:

> There can be no doubt that it was a grave mistake to have taken part in the Pre-parliament. It would be a mistake, however, to think [as Trotsky does] that those who were in favour of taking part in the Pre-parliament went into it for the purpose of constructive work, for the purpose of "directing the working-class movement" "into the channel of Social-Democracy." That is not at all the case. It is not true. [...] the

[86]Lenin 1917, 22–4 September 'From A Publicist's Diary. The Mistakes Of Our Party'

Party [made a] swift rectification of this mistake.[87]

The genuine truth here is, on the contrary, that Stalin out of a factional interest tried to wrestle from 'Trotskyism' cover out and gloss over at that time the Menshevik behaviour of Zinoviev and Kameneva not only in October, but also in post-October days. All this was already fourteen years before the *Short Course*.

In the interval between the July Days and the episode with the Pre-parliament, Trotsky joined the ranks of the Party together with the *Mezhraionsty*. This was natural due to his evolution and elimination of the last remnants of Menshevik connections, in particular with Martov.

The next mention of Trotsky is found in Lenin's article 'Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power', where Lenin answered right-wing newspaper *Dyelo Naroda*, which called the rule of the workers and peasants 'the rule of "Trotsky and Lenin"'. Lenin added to these words of the newspaper: 'not wishing to lag behind the pogrom-mongers and anti-Semites, monarchists and Cadets'.[88] Here commentary is superfluous.

Next we meet with Lenin's notes on the theses 'On the List of Candidates for the Constituent Assembly', where he sharply protests against the list of the Central Committee and the 'against excessive number of candidates from among people who have but recently joined our Party and have not yet been tested (like Larin)' and about Trotsky Lenin wrote as follows: '[N]o one would contest the candidature of, say, Trotsky, for, first, upon his arrival, Trotsky at once took up an internationalist stand; second, he worked among the mezhraiontsi for a merger; third, in the difficult July days he proved himself equal to the task and a loyal supporter of the party of the revolutionary proletariat'.[89]

The last mention of Trotsky for 1917 we find in Lenin's 'Letter to the Central Committee', dated 19 October 1917, six days before the October insurrection, where he concludes '[h]ere we have strike-breaking in the full sense of the term. And that is why I demand the expulsion of both the black-legs [Zinoviev and Kamenev] (Stalin herewith abstained), reserving for myself the right (in view of their threat of a split) to publish *everything* when publication becomes possible.'[90] Up to his death Lenin did not resort to such a publication since the threat for a split before October or immediately after October had passed. Only Stalin after

[87]Stalin 1924, 'Trotskyism or Leninism?'
[88]Lenin 1917 1 October , 'Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?' vol 26
[89]Lenin 1917 October vol 34, 'From the Theses for a Report at the October 8 Conference of the St. Petersburg Organisation, and Also for a Resolution and Instructions to Those Elected to the Party Congress{2} ON THE LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
[90]Lenin 1917, 19 October, 'Letter To The Central Committee Of The R.S.D.L.P.(B.)' vol 26

the death of Lenin in the article 'Trotskyism or Leninism' used his position, firstly, to *deceive* the Party on the relationship between Lenin and Trotsky during the 1917 revolution, arguing that the *first* act of Lenin on the day after his arrival from abroad was 'to disassociate himself from Trotsky' and Lenin's alleged repeated statements on the unacceptability of the slogan 'no tsar, but a workers' government'.[91]

We saw that, on the contrary, the *first* act of Lenin after returning from abroad was disassociation from Kamenev and his group, and likewise *from old Bolshevism in general*, and this disagreement was repeated many times, beginning with the April theses, through the April Conference of 1917, in materials which contain not a single word about Trotsky or Trotskyism, and ending with Lenin's testament where Kamenev and Zinoviev's mistake was qualified by Lenin as no accident.

Lenin did not publish his letter about the October strikebreakers while alive. It was published only after his death, 4 November 1927, when Zinoviev and Kamenev with 'battles' went to Trotsky. Lenin spoke specifically about Trotsky at the same meeting of the Central Committee, where he discussed Kamenev's behavior was given, and said the following words:

> Kamenev's evasion at the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet is something really despicable. He is, don't you see, in full agreement with Trotsky: But is it so difficult to understand that in the face of the enemy, Trotsky could not have said, he had no right to say, and should not have said more than he did? [...] Kamenev's evasion is a sheer fraud.[92]

In note 52 to this passage we meet the following information: 'At the meeting of the Central Committee of 2 November (20 October) Trotsky explained, that his statement was forced by the threat of Kamenev introduced in a meeting of the Council of his resolution against the speech', that is thereby to issue publicly the date of the October uprising.

The Bolshevik Party entered the October revolution, having in its ranks ten thousand underground fighters [that is long-time members] and thirty thousand 'Bolsheviks of 1917', representing the October generation of the first draft.

And if we add to this first draft the second revolutionary draft of Bolsheviks, who passed the fire of the civil war of 1918–20. which numbered according to the calculation of Zinoviev in

[91]Stalin 1924
[92]Lenin 1917

1923 about 230 thousands person, then by the year 1920 the Party ranks numbered 270 thousand Bolsheviks. Of these the share of the pre-revolutionary generation of Bolsheviks, the bearers of Party traditions and the experience of struggle under the leadership of Lenin in the period of the first revolution 1905–7, and then the epoch of reaction, liquidationism and political disintegration 1907, and the subsequent political upsurge of 1912–14, accounted for not more than 3–3.5 per cent of the entire Party membership. This layer, embodying the ideological continuity of classical Bolshevism and the Party experience of 20–26 years, concentrated in itself the whole pre-revolutionary Party history, by an *insignificant* quantitative weight of the whole Party. The ideological continuity and Bolshevik tradition, of course, were the precious legacy of the past not only of the Russian, but also of the international revolutionary movement. But every idea becomes a material force only when it takes possession of the mass, and the Bolsheviks began to take over the mass, in fact, only in the short period of July–October 1917, when it began to be concentrated and organised under the Party's slogan of preparation of armed insurrection, – a slogan proclaimed by the Sixth Party Congress. Here was almost repeated the history of the short-term revolutionary struggle of 1905 with its highpoint of the movement – the Krasnaya Presnya uprising in Moscow. The difference was that the December 1905 uprising happened in Moscow, isolated from St. Petersburg, as capital centre, whereas the October uprising of 1917 hit the country's capital centre – Petrograd and, thereby to a huge degree reduced the time of delivery.

Not dwelling on other significant differences, let us note only that already at the beginning of 1917, especially with the first moment of Lenin's arrival from exile to Petrograd and his speeches with the April theses 1917, *the old Bolshevism 1905–16 was put by Lenin himself into the 'archive' of the old Bolsheviks* together with its traditions and slogans of the struggle for a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in a *bourgeois* revolution, after the short struggle at the April conference 1917 against a group of Party conservatives, clinging to yesterday and dilapidated slogans. Under the leadership of Lenin there was a *rallying* of the overwhelming majority of members of the Party against a handful of conservatives around the slogan of a socialist revolution. The latter moved from a remote perspective into daily political life even in the few months up to October, wherewith the auxiliary tactical struggle on this path served a patient and persevering propaganda among the Soviets and the masses of the populace who elected them of the slogan of liquidating the dual power and transfer all power to the Soviets. For this particular purpose demanded to go through the inevitable and difficult stage of conquering the majority in the Soviets

themselves, in order to ensure in the second stage, after the July Days to take the decisive course towards armed insurrection. This was a *radical change of revolutionary slogans*, in the full sense a *rearmament of old Bolshevism*, and not any malicious invention of Trotsky or Trotskyists. This rearmament was accompanied by a serious crisis in the Party first in April 1917, and then even more deeply in pre-October the days directly after the October victory, when a group of leading figures of government and Party resigned, having fled from all their posts.

In his speech at the Plenum of the of the Communist Group in the [A.U.C.C.T.U.] All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on 19 November 1924 Stalin tried to disorientate the Party cadre by a rude negation of the very fact of an ideological rearmament of the Party under the leadership of Lenin in the first half 1917 [that] set the course at socialist revolution. In this speech Stalin *falsely* attributed to 'Trotskyism' the division of the history of the Party in two unequal parts – pre-October and post-October, seeing in this supposedly 'singular' scheme of the history of the Party 'a scheme to disrupt the unity between the old and the new cadres of our Party, a scheme to destroy the Bolshevik Party principle'.[93] There is no better means of exposing this deception than an appeal to all the actual factual history of the struggle of Lenin against Kamenev, Zinoviev and their group during the whole period of preparation for the October revolution, when this groupr, claiming the role of keeper of the Bolshevik traditions, actually slid down to a Menshevik position and acted in the role of strikebreakers during the decisive days of the uprising. A no less eloquent answer on this question can be given by a simple comparison of what Stalin said about Kamenev and Zinoviev in November 1924 and what he wrote about them in his *Short Course*.

Contrary to Stalin's first version in 1924, as if the first act of Lenin after his return from emigration in 1917 was 'to disassociate himself from Trotskyism', the stubborn facts testify that in his April theses and in their further development at the April 1917 conference, where there was no talk about Trotsky at all, Lenin *started* his disengagement precisely with the Kamenev group and with the represented by it old Bolshevism in general. As for disagreements of Lenin with the old Trotskyism, then from this moment on they quickly waned and finally disappeared less than three after Lenin's return from emigration, when at a meeting of the Petersburg Committee Lenin found it possible to propose L.D. Trotsky as organiser and editor of a *popular* newspaper of the Party for Petrograd, considering the successful experience of Trotsky in 1905, when he together with Parvus issued in Petersburg the popular *Russkaya Gazeta*. It is always necessary to keep in mind the most important

[93]Stalin 1924, Trotskyism or Leninism?

feature of this moment, which consisted of the fact that for Lenin *the question of all questions* of the revolution then was the energetic and insistent, though also patient, propaganda of the slogan of transfer of all power to the Soviets. For this objective Lenin was ready to focus the entire work of the Party solely on propaganda and agitation, having transformed the Party into a propagandistic and agitational circle, as Kamenev then scornfully said about this. Under this angle Lenin then considered, as *the most important Party task*, the attraction of Trotsky with his rich experience in the matter of setting up a popular workers' newspaper. The negotiations in this domain immediately preceded Trotsky's entry into the ranks of the Party together with the *Mezhraiontsy* at the Sixth Congress. All further unfolding of events quickly moved towards intensive preparation of the uprising, and Lenin's disengagement with the old Bolsheviks Zinoviev and Kamenev took place with such speed, as the rapprochement of Lenin's and Trotsky's positions took place up to their full merger in the October days.

It is entirely unnecessary to clutter up here the exposition with confirming facts, which are generally known and represented in abundance on the pages of the whole history of October. No *episodic* disagreements between Lenin and Trotsky in the period of Brest, disagreements, that cannot be compared with the history of the sharp struggle of the 'Left' communists against Lenin, are able to belittle or push back in the shadow the colossal importance of the fundamental fact – *the unity of the thought, will and action* of Lenin and Trotsky in this decisive stage of the October revolution.

I belong to the first draft of Bolsheviks of 1917 and on the basis of my personal memories and impressions, as well as based on countless literary sources, I *categorically reject* all sorts of legends and inventions of any 'historians', as if in the period of Brest there existed in the Party then either a current or a grouping of 'Trotskyism', opposed to Lenin and Leninism. There was no such grouping then in nature, meanwhile the nature of the 'Left' communists could have been to discover decisively everywhere, and they did not conceal their intentions even to split and arrest the government of Lenin, seeking the implementation of their childish slogans of revolutionary war. Apart from the 'Lefts' in the ranks of the Party there existed then complete unity, cohesive around Lenin, and on the banner of October the unity of the revolution was embodied in the names of Lenin and Trotsky, who up to the death of Lenin invariably went together not only on posters and slogans, but also in the depths of consciousness of the broadest party and non-party mass. No wonder the Right SR newspaper *Dyelo Naroda* called Soviet power at that time 'the rule of Trotsky and Lenin', so as not to lag, in Lenin's word, behind the pogrom-mongers and anti-Semites, monarchists

and Cadets. No wonder, we add, after Lenin's death were attached incredible efforts and monstrous means, in order through fakes and erasures, falsifications and deceit pound for decades into the head of the generation, 'not to remember the kinship' and not surviving October revolution, the 'mythology of Trotskyism', which was created at the same time with the re-working of Leninism in their own image and likeness of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin. All references and notes, pointers and comments, which are overcrowded in those and subsequent years of the publication of the *Works* of Lenin, had and have the most important of their attitudes to separate these names – Lenin and Trotsky and counter-oppose them to each other, not stopping before a direct distortion of text or 'explanations' of Lenin's utterances in a spirit contrary to their meaning.

I must dwell here also on another side of the issue, having direct relation to establishing the reliability of facts of Party history.

The Bolsheviks of 1917, who constituted at the beginning of the revolution three-quarters of the Party's composition, for a short period from February to October had to take on their shoulders and fulfil the gigantic work, *which surpassed everything, done by the previous generations* of Bolsheviks: re-conquer the majority and win the trust, above all, in the working class, and in parallel also in the soldiers' mass, in the peasantry and the intermediate strata, without who the October revolution would not have been feasible. In all historical documents it is an undisputed established fact that the *beginning* of the February revolution found the Party [as] a completely insignificant minority, despite that already beginning from 1911, in the year of the rise of the political movement in the country the Party managed to win strong positions in the working class, by systematically replacing at the bigger plants the influence of the Mensheviks and liquidators. It is known that in the summer of 1914, when the French president Poincaré arrived in St. Petersburg on a visit to the tsar to talk about preparations for the war, he could observe on the streets of Petersburg barricades erected by workers against tsarism.

The war of 1914–17. with all its consequences abruptly changed the face of the country and people and, it seemed, pushed away revolutionary prospects into a remote and foggy distance.

According to Schlichter's testimony at the Seventeenth Party Congress, speaking in connection with the exposure of the nationalist deviation in Ukraine in 1934 and, incidentally, giving a characterisation of the views of N.A. Skrypnik, the latter 'asserted', for example, that up to the moment of revolution there were Bolshevisms in the Party, that ther was ideological confusion in the Party, that the Party lost the working class and so on. I

personally knew well both Schlichter and Skrypnik. The first worked after me in the twenties as rector of Artem [Communist] University in Kharkov, and with Skrypnik I worked together on the Presidium of the Ukrainian Institute of Marxism, where he headed the chair on the national question. Politically with Skrypnik I clashed over hostile or each other opposing positions, and over inner-Party questions, and, in particular, over the national question. But at the same time it is impossible to deny the facts, which also Schlichter could not refute, although he had tried to critically appraise the views of Skrypnik. Yes, it is not subject to doubt that with the arrival of Lenin at the beginning of the revolution, in the party emerged and existed 'two Bolshevisms', hostile to each other, till Lenin's position finally triumphed. Yes, there existed *disorder of ideas*: one part of the Party continued to cling to the slogans of 1905, another part went with Lenin and his slogans of the socialist revolution. Yes, at the beginning of the revolution the Party lost the working class, because the overwhelming majority of it at the beginning of the war went to the defencist parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Moreover also the social composition of the working class in the years of the war had undergone profound changes. Lenin's slogan of power to the Soviets demanded in advance from the Bolsheviks of 1917 severe and stubborn struggle and propaganda, sometimes struggle and propaganda 'against the current' with the goal of *persuading* the Soviets to take power, which the latter freely had surrendered to the bourgeoisie and the Provisional government. This struggle and propaganda were all the more difficult, that even among the Bolsheviks themselves a part accepted the original treacherous slogan of conditional support to the Provisional government.

All this was the harsh reality, that we faced and repeatedly banged our foreheads in battles with the stagnant mass, which was on the one hand drugged with defencist fervour, and on the other was stunned by the 'bloodless' victory of the revolution, after which it seemed to it as an intolerable sacrilege to violate the 'festive' mood and general harmony by acting with Bolshevik demands and sharp criticism of the authorities.

As for the physiognomy of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, especially the latter, they at this time did not resemble traditional figures of the Menshevik epoch of the Second Congress, the new *Iskra* and the endless disputes around the notorious first paragraph of the Party Rules, which served as a watershed between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Mikhail Olminsky recalled somewhere in the preface to the in 1924 reissued bundle of the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod* of 1905,[94] that even the most qualified

[94]Olminsky 1924, Перепечатка: «Вперед» и «Пролетарий»: Первые большевистские газеты 1905 г. / Поли, текст под ред. Истпарта и со вступ. статьей М. Ольминского.

Bolshevik underground worker in the first years of the revolution confused this first paragraph of the statute, taking the Menshevik edition of Martov for the Bolshevik edition of Lenin, and Lenin himself, in his words, was burdened by the circumstance that up to 1905 disagreements with the Mensheviks did not go beyond the border of disputes over the organisational question. Only the revolution of 1905 *revealed the political content* of the struggle of the two main directions of the RSDLP. So it was in 1905. And what to say about the situation of the 1917 revolution, which pushed both these directions far back and put forward at the centre stage the slogan of struggle of conquest of the Soviets and the conquest of power by the Soviets? To expound the history of this struggle would mean to write the history of the revolution itself. I will confine myself here to a statement of the basic conclusions: the conquest of Soviet power in October was the result of a historically unprecedented combination of decisive revolutionary factors – an exceptionally rapid rise in the revolutionary wave in the popular masses, and the ingenious leadership of the insurrection from the side of Lenin, armed with all the wealth of Marxist scientific foresight and experience of all preceding revolutions in Russia and beyond.

Of course, this result could not have taken place if the theory revolutionary struggle remained only the theory of extremely an thin layer of underground workers, from who very few people had *continuous* Party standing and revolutionary experience. In some this 'continuous' experience was disrupted for many years by departure from the movement, retreat in private life and return to the ranks of fighters only with the beginning of a new upsurge.

In others these interruptions were due to a long inactive stay in exile and prison, and in thirds – emigration. But all for those who, without interruption, took part in the revolutionary movement and in struggle, as later experience showed, the historical law maintained its validity which Marx in his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* expressed in the most chiselled form: the *law of historical disguises*. By force of this law every real revolution of modern times seeks an analogy and similarity in the events and heroes of the past. So, for example, the French revolution of the eighteenth century sought for itself a model in the ancient world of Greek and Roman antiquity, the English revolution of the seventeenth century saw its heroes disguised in biblical attire. Even superficial overview of the *inner-Party struggle of the twenties of the present century* in the USSR immediately faces us with such a phenomenon, that during these years, when Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat already succeeded, when in full course the foundations of socialist construction were laid, the most active figures of the epoch seems some kind of

apparitions, not escaping from the range of pre-revolutionary ideas of the past. To these apparitions relates also 'Trotskyism'.

Already the very catchwords at meetings and Congresses, where now and then exclamations were heard of 'Axelrodism', 'Stockholm Congress', 'Menshevism', 'liquidationism', and so on, immediately recalled, that people are represented not as the forces and contradictions participating in the movement, but as phantoms of the past. Considering themselves participants of the socialist resolution, many Bolsheviks resorted to the lexicon of the 1905 revolution and resurrected a long-worn out setting of the struggle, that is they sought the 'poetry' of their struggle in the past, instead of looking for it in the future. Perhaps the most striking example of such *confused consciousness* was the identification of the bureaucratism of the Party apparatus, multiplied by the many-headed bureaucratism of the state apparatus in the era of the proletarian dictatorship and the first years of Soviet power, moreover armed with all unlimited means of coercion and violence – mixing all of this with the 'bureaucratism' of Party committees in the times of the Tsarist underground up to the first Russian revolution, around which a fierce factional struggle of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was waged and lances broken.

2. The Fate of Lenin's Letter to the Congress (Lenin's 'Testament')[95]

Since the time of the Thirteenth Congress already more than forty years passed and almost as much time since the existence of Lenin's letter to the Congress, which were produced in several receptions. The last of them dates from 4 January 1923. A few days before the Thirteenth Congress the governing bodies of the Party and, of course, above all, the governing troika of Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin already knew the content of this letter up to the last notation, where Vladimir Ilyich *in addition* again returns to the personality of Stalin after having given in the previous notation individually the characteristics of six of the most outstanding at that time leaders of the Central Committee of the Party.

Incidentally, leafing through the pages of the Twenty-Second Party Congress, I found in the speech of Satjukov a reminder that among these six outstanding leaders of the Party, who worked under Lenin in the Central Committee, there was no mention of such a person like V.M. Molotov. About him Lenin spoke, according to Satjukov, but these mentions characterised Molotov *sharply negative* in connection with the awful staging of work in

[95][These were several letters, but we will refer to them in the singular.]

those departments of the Central Committee – scholarly-distribution and statistics, which Molotov led.

For these forty years the fate of Lenin's letter to the Congress managed to build a huge literature both outside and in particular within the USSR. This literature, as we shall see later, instead of clarifying the confused question, in fact formed genuine barricades to and even a jungle on the path to the textual understanding of Lenin's last will. Let us recall that these questions have been engaged already [by] the unified plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the RCP(b) in October 1927, when, violating all Party rules of the charter, a few weeks before the Fifteenth Party Congress leaders of the opposition in the Central Committee – Trotsky and Zinoviev were excluded from the composition of the Central Committee, and soon thereafter also from the Party together with the active opposition, and to the Fifteenth Congress it remained only to 'formalise' the accomplished fact.

Let us see how Stalin examined this history in the plenary session. I take Stalin's speech in the form in which it it was printed in volume ten of his *Collected Works* titled 'The Trotskyist Opposition Before and Now'. On the fate of Lenin's 'Testament' is spoken there in the first section, entitled 'Some minor questions'. Let us note the relegation of this history to 'minor questions'. Referring to the question, posed by Trotsky and Zinoviev, about concealing Lenin's 'Testament' from the Party, Stalin answered:

> We have discussed this question several times at the plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission, you know that. (A voice: "Scores of times.") It has been proved and proved again *that nobody has concealed anything* [my emphasis], that Lenin's "will" was addressed to the Thirteenth Party Congress, that this "will" was read out at the congress (*Voices:* "That's right!"), that the congress *unanimously* decided not to publish it because, among other things, Lenin himself did not want it to be published and did not ask that it should be published.[96]

Let us confine ourselves for now to this excerpt, in which every word is either a distortion [*perederzhka*], or a direct lie.

1. Lenin's letter to the Congress was *never read out at the Congress itself, that is at its plenary meetings*, in no minutes of the Congress's meetings did it appear. Maybe, inside the

[96]Stalin 1927, p. 178. 23 October, J. V. Stalin, Works Volume 10, 1954, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.

C.C. it was discussed even dozens of times, as this was reported by a voice in the transcript, but *this did not come up before the Party*. Lenin's letter was read 'by delegation', but delegations did not carry out any minutes, and discussion of the letter happened behind a tightly closed door. Only in the last year, that is forty years after the events, in an article, devoted to the fortieth anniversary of the Thirteenth Party Congress and underwritten by delegate of the Congress R. Ja. Terechov and candidate historian of sciences K. Kuznetsov could the readers of *Pravda* learn something, but far from everything, in what turbulent atmosphere this question was discussed among the Ukrainian delegation, where, according to the authors of the article, as most zealous supporters of keeping Stalin on the post of General Secretary, that is ignoring the advice of Lenin, acted ... Zinoviev and Kamenev.

2. It is not at all clear from the content of a Lenin's letter that Lenin 'himself did not want' and 'did not ask' the publication of this letter. Let us drop for now also many more of the puzzled questions, which are raised by this '*document of the epoch*', which marked the first major turn astray from Lenin's advice and instruction: there were still endlessly many [such turns] ahead.

Further Stalin tells us that the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commisssion decided in 1926 'to ask the Fifteenth Congress for permission to publish this document', but in this decision to request publication of the 'Testament' came together with the request 'to publish other letters of Lenin's, in which he pointed out the mistakes of Kamenev and Zinoviev just before the October uprising and demanded their expulsion from the Party'.[97]

Just two years before this, when the 'triumvirate' or 'troika' inside the Central Committee did not yet have internal cracks, Stalin so depicted the political face of Zinoviev and Kamenev in his speech at the plenum of the A.U.C.C.T.U. on 19 November 1924, challenging Trotsky's assertion that in the persons of Kamenev and Zinoviev in the October days acted [as] the 'right wing' of the Party, acting against the insurrection. He reduces there the historical disagreement before October between Lenin on the one hand, Zinoviev and Kamenev – on the other, to *entirely trivial matters* and herewith unabashedly lies, alleging that at the meeting of 23 October 1917 Kamenev and Zinoviev, despite their difference with Lenin, entered the Politburo of the Central Committee, as in the *political centre for leadership of the insurrection*. Stalin explained in 1924 this imaginary 'fact' by the circumstance that 'in spite of disagreements, we had in the face of these comrades the flock of Bolsheviks standing on the soil of Bolshevism', and expands this 'common ground' so much that it completely

[97]Stalin 1927, p. .

disappeared or drowned such a 'trifle' as the root disagreements on the April theses, which formed a *wall* between the world outlook of the old *Bolshevism* of 1905, represented by Kamenev, with his revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the bourgeois revolution, and the *new Bolshevism*, born of the first imperialist war, the February and especially the October Revolution, which set course to socialist revolution. And after all, speaking with such a statement in 1924, Stalin could not but know Lenin's remarks that the October mistakes of Zinoviev and Kamenev were '*of course, no accident*'. So took place in the eyes of all a shuffling cards in the political game, when it was necessary in November 1924 to *whitewash* those who that conjuncture of struggle in October 1926 required to *vilify* by the same lines and contours.

In 1924 Stalin found it is necessary to put even under doubt facts about October, which were reported in the famous book *10 Days That Shook the World* by John Reed. Stalin called the account of the events in John Reed 'Arab Nights fairy tales', not embarrassed by the fact that this book was published in 1919 by mass print in the USSR with famous enthusiastic preface to it by Lenin and Krupskaya, and calls John Reed a man 'remote from our Party' and suspicious in part to 'Trotskyism'. This should not surprise us now, as Lenin's letter to Congress itself in essence was announced to the 'delegations', [as] a document playing into the hands of Trotskyists, and from this motivation was pushed at long box for forty superfluous years.

We will continue to deal with another particular question, how could it happen, that after the decision of the Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C. of 1926 with the request to the Fifteenth Party Congress to publish the 'Testament', it as before continued to remain under the cloth for 39 years? I have for this purpose the following reference material;

1. The article 'The Thirteenth Party Congress', published in the journal *Voprosy historii KPSS* in 1964, as a preparatory material for a multi-volume history of the CPSU (pp. 3-16).
2. The verbatim record of *The Thirteenth Congress of the CPSU*, published in 1963 with notes to it.
3. The forty-fifth volume of the fifth edition of Lenin's *Works* and notes to it;
4. *Istorij KPSS*, second edition 1962.

From what can be found in the verbatim record of *The Thirteenth Congress*, it is evident that the *first* publication of Lenin's letter to Congress happened only in 1957, its publication was delayed by the 'cult of personality' of Stalin. This letter, like also other letters from Lenin, was brought to the attention of the delegates of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and then sent out to Party organisations. In addition, in the same foreword to the verbatim record of

The Thirteenth Congress it is said that Lenin's letter was published in 1956 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 9 and published in bulk as a separate brochure. All this happened only *several dozen years after* the above decision of the Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C. of 1926 to publish these letters. Whereas the *exclusion* of the leaders of the opposition was carried out lightning fastness and was not limited to just one exclusion, but ended with the physical extermination of the revolutionary cadres of October already ten to twelve years after the death of the leader and founder of the Party and after a nationwide cult to cherish its unity, destroyed together with the destruction of the whole composition of leaders of the Party that worked under Lenin in its leading staff.

In *Istorii KPSS*, which was published in second edition in 1962, and in the article 'The Thirteenth Party Congress', published in the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS* No. 5 of 1964, again presented to readers the original text of Lenin's 'Letter to the Congress', which has a size of not more than two pages, but the accompanying *wanton exposition of this letter* distorts the simple meaning of Lenin's words. A whole part of the letter is ignored where Trotsky is characterised as 'the most capable man in the present C.C.', who the Party must meet in the matter of giving legislative functions to the State Planning Committee.[98] But about Stalin at the forefront is an indication that he – is one of the outstanding Party leaders. This is an introductory *chord*, which determines all further exposition, is later followed by 'particulars'. 1). The word of Lenin on the 'non-bolshevism' of Trotsky is decrypted as a 'warning' to the Party about the extremely dangerous recidivism of Menshevism in Trotsky. The authors, evidently, have no idea that in 1917, when L.D. Trotsky with a group of *Mezhraiontsy* of Leningrad (then Petrograd) still before the October revolution was accepted into the ranks of the Party, there was a meeting also with the *Mezhraiontsy* and in the Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks with the participation of Lenin on the question on the conditions for the entry of the *Mezhraiontsy* into the Party. Precisely to this moment relates the word of Lenin[99] that 'the Bolsheviks de-bolshevised themselves and I cannot call myself [now] a Bolshevik'. Thus, the term 'non-Bolshevism' belonged in this moment to Lenin[100] himself and meant nothing else than that Lenin himself with his April theses buried the 'old Bolshevism' represented by Kamenev and his group.[101]

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[98]['I intend to propose that the Congress should on certain conditions invest the decisions of the State Planning Commission with legislative force, meeting, in this respect, the wishes of Comrade Trotsky'. See also the section: 'Granting Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission'.]

[99][In original text here Trotsky, a slip-up.]

[100][The same slip-up in the original text here.]

[101]See details in the April theses and materials of the All-Russia April Party Conference 1917, as well as in the reference section and other annexes to the writings of Lenin, which contain information about the entry of Trotsky and the *Mezhraiontsy* group into the ranks of the CPSU before the Sixth Party Congress.

That is the real meaning of this expression in Lenin. The authors of *Istorii KPSS* did not hesitate to replace this meaning with arbitrary gibberish. 2). Immediately further the authors of the text, clodding the exact and simple meaning of Lenin's letter, combine in the next paragraph in one 'amalgam' all what Lenin *separately* wrote about each of the six members of the CC. Dumped in one pile are the strikebreakers Zinoviev and Kamenev in the October days and the 'left' errors of Bukharin in the period of Brest, and the disagreement between Lenin and Trotsky in the trade union discussion. It is entirely unclear whether the authors are conveying the content of Lenin's letter, or write on the basis of this letter [their own] independent designs.

Matching with the preceding is also the remaining part of the 'legend' on the fate of Lenin's 'Letter to Congress'. We learn, that delegations (but not the Congress) discussed the letter of Lenin and hid it under the cloth, trusting in the 'promises' of Stalin, despite Lenin's warning about the *disloyalty* of Stalin, we learn, how Stalin 'did not justify the trust of the Congress'. The authors paint a history about how the delegations of the Congress 'took into account the irreconcilable struggle of J.V. Stalin with "Trotskyism"', as if Lenin had ever to whomsoever 'bequeathed' to carry a fight with 'Trotskyism' *after October*, as if *precisely the names of Lenin and Trotsky did not stand together during the entire years of the revolution until the death of Lenin*.

'Life showed' not only that Stalin did not justify the trust of the Congress, and did not fulfil his promises. He also did not care very much about this. It showed that Stalin put [as] the cornerstone not the trust of the Congress in him, *but his trust in the Congress*, and did not stop before destruction of almost three-quarters of the composition of the Seventeenth Party Congress together with the Central Committee elected at that Congress, when he had doubts that this Congress was able to justify the trust of the General Secretary, although he *opened* the Seventeenth Congress with the words: 'At this congress [...] there is nothing to prove *and, it seems, no one to fight*'.[102]

So is outlined the history of one of the most tragic periods of working of the Party, when it, having lost its founder and leader, fell under the 'leadership' of the cook, able to 'prepare only peppery dishes'.[103]

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[102]Stalin 1934, vol 13

[103][Lenin's remark to a narrow circle at the Tenth Party Congress in 1921. On this phrase see also Dashkovsky's footnote a few pages below. *Trotsky's Amalgams* (Furr 2016, pp. 9 and following) casts doubt on this story, considering Trotsky to be the only source (speech on 23 October 1927), and moreover he later sometimes retold it inconsistently, with 1922 as date. Zinoviev too referred to the 'peppery dishes' phrase at the same plenum. However, this anecdote (without specifying the exact date, but likely in 1921 – as Trotsky first, and apparently most often, said – since Molotov then was named General Secretary) can already be found in a 23 September 1927 declaration, signed by Zinoviev, Ivar Smilga and (probably Rudolph) Peterson (that is, one month *prior* to

Even, if one reduces the matter only to the so-called 'merit' of Stalin in the struggle against Trotskyism, it would have been better instead of this nonsense to remember that at the moment of the Thirteenth Party Congress in Stalin there was and could not have been any special merit in this dubious domain. With much more knowledge of the matter and the circumstances of the struggle of Lenin with Trotsky in the *pre-revolutionary* period of the Party's existence could declare their claim to merit of the struggle against Trotskyism the inventors themselves of this post-Leninist 'Trotskyism' – Zinoviev and Kamenev. What credit could Stalin hand to himself, for who the whole history of the Party did not rise further than the Prague Conference and the August 1912 bloc? Yes and these events took place not under or by his participation. He was for the *first time* and herewith only i*n absentia co-*

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the date of Trotsky's first statement):
'[Stalin] wants to place not only the Fifteenth Congress, but also his own Central Committee before a fait accompli. Because those "spicy dishes" [*ostrye bljuda*] (Lenin about Stalin) that are not made ready, can only be prepared in close company'. Копия препроводительной Пом. Секретаря ЦК ВКП(б) (И.П. Товстухи) с приложением обращения Политбюро ЦК ВКП(б) по поводу заявления Г.Е. Зиновьева, И.Т. Смилги и А.А. Петерсона от 23.09.27 г. 27 сентября 1927 г. Source: RGASPI f. 82, op.2, d. 188 l. 71–84.
The three signatories of this declaration could, apparently without fear of being disbelieved by members or contradicted by party officialdom, in passing refer to this anecdote, even without specifying the exact context in which Lenin said it. It is probable they (in the first place Zinoviev) who were the first-hand witnesses of Lenin's remark.
Let us quote from this same declaration also a remark on the origin of the term 'amalgam':
'During the time of the French Revolution it was called the "amalgam". In one trial, revolutionaries and monarchists, left Jacobins and speculators were united in order to mix the cards, to deceive the people. The Thermidorian era of the French Revolution is full of such "amalgams"'.
This would be already under Robespierre, since by 'left Jacobins' surely here are meant the Hébertists. Let us further quote a 1891 work of the English socialist Bax on the tactic of amalgams in trials:
'Hébert, [François-Nicolas] Vincent, [general Charles-Philippe] Ronsin, Momoro, were decreed accused, as a first instalment in the holocaust of Sans-Culottism. In vain the Cordeliers protested. The Government had succeeded in inspiring the partizans of Sans-Culottism with panic. In a few days all the leaders who had been in the van of the revolutionary movement were under lock and key. Most were taken to the Conciergerie, but Ronsin and some others were sent to join Anacharsis Cloots at St. Lazare. Meanwhile the Committee-men and their partizans among the Jacobins began with increased fury to pour forth their deluge of calumnies against the prisoners now deprived of all means of defence. It was even hoped by their friends that in the very absurdity of the accusations levelled against them lay their best hope of acquittal. [...] Robespierre now hit upon the plan made famous in the later period of the Terror, that namely of consolidating the indictment of a number of persons into one act of accusation. This was the first case in which the above procedure was adopted. The prisoners to be arraigned in the present trial were composed chiefly, though not entirely, of the party of the Commune, i.e., of the Cordeliers Society, a few nondescript shades of Moderatism being dexterously included. It was on the first of Germinal that the accused, nineteen by the tale, were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. [...] Anacharsis and some of the others still believed in the integrity of the jury, but Ronsin and Vincent saw that a terrorism had been set up which rendered all chance of escape hopeless. The accusations, vague enough, were supported by depositions of an equally ridiculous character. Every time anything was said which might tell in favour of the prisoners, or which might implicate other persons whom it was not convenient to prosecute, the witnesses were promptly cut short by the president, Dumas. Cloots, although included in the general indictment of having conspired to overthrow the Republic in the interests of Royalism and of the foreign powers, was but little referred to individually in the course of the proceedings. The only fact that was seriously alleged against him was that he had some months before, out of good-nature, endeavoured to procure the liberation of a woman who was in prison as a suspect. The trial lasted in all three days, and thirty-six witnesses were heard. The last day the public galleries were crowded with Moderates of all shades, with Robespierreists and with Jacobin partizans of the Committee, who howled down the accused the moment they attempted to say anything in their defence, and hailed every accusation with cries of "To the guillotine"' (Bax 1891, pp. 29–31). *Outlooks from the New Standpoint*, London: Swan Sonnenschein.]

opted into the Central Committee at the Prague Conference.

At the time of the Thirteenth Congress there was still no Zinoviev-Kamenev 'encyclopedia' on Trotskyism, which the named leaders of the troika tried to create, when was put on the table to all publishers an alliance [for the] urgent task – to track down, unite and republish in the form of plump textbooks, reference books and compiled 'guides' of everything what Lenin on Trotsky and Trotsky on Lenin said and wrote about each other not shy of dense swearing, commonly adopted among revolutionaries in mutual hassle, during the years of emigration and the circle struggle of literary groups. This was the response of Zinoviev and Kamenev to *Lessons of October*, which reminded them of their October mistakes. On this literature, calculated for the day's need, the Party youth was trained for the 'struggle against Trotskyism'. But the 'Letter of Lenin to the Congress' in its turn, reminded them themselves, Zinoviev and Kamenev, that their October mistakes were, 'of course, no accident'. Thus Lenin's letter unexpectedly fell into the category of the most dangerous documents in 'Trotskyism'. In this [letter] was painted naively and frankly the Congress delegation itself, [who] took the decision that a removal of Stalin, in other words, the fulfilment of Lenin's instructions given in the 'Testament', would be only [playing] in the hands of the 'Trotskyists'.

Approximately in the same style distorted fully beyond recognition Lenin's 'Letter to the Congress' is represented in a loose presentation on the pages of the journal *Voprosy istoriij KPSS*, in an article devoted to the Thirteenth Party Congress. Here, and without special analysis is assembled on each of the six leading figures of the Lenin's Central Committee, that is the Central Committee which existed under Lenin, and especially on each of the three, unreliable to Lenin's core[104] – Trotsky, Bukharin and Pyatakov, *only all the negative* and nothing of the positive qualities, and all this is completed [by] a generalisation of the characteristic of Trotsky, as a man to whom Lenin allegedly 'expressed political distrust', although the authors of this 'History' had before them Lenin's genuine text and Lenin's words about Trotsky as the most capable man of the Central Committee.

If Lenin's letter really meant political distrust of Trotsky, then it remains absolutely incomprehensible why the attempt was made to hide this letter and not to publish [it] for the general information and in the interests of at least this notorious 'struggle with Trotskyism'. All this is becoming wild and incomprehensible, just as everything was wild and incomprehensible then, what was hidden behind the 'iron curtain' around events, that accompanied the beginning of the birth of Stalin's personality cult.

[104][As mentioned before, 'Lenin's core' was the name for Stalin, Kamenev, Zinoviev.]

Let us now turn again to direct historical sources on this same issue. In the speech already mentioned of Stalin at the October Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C. he had unlimited free time for utterances. Leaders of the opposition at the same Plenum were not only limited by time – one hour, but in addition their speeches were thwarted by a specially organised obstruction - wild cries, noise, knocks, continuous heckling, demonstrative termination of the meeting and departure from the premises – all this presented a picture directly counter to the decision of the same Plenum of 8 September 1927, where in paragraph no. 4 it was said: 'The Politburo of the Central Committee and the Presidium should ensure that the discussion is conducted within the framework and tone, compatible with *partijnost* [partyism]' and comradely relations'.[105] In his speech at the Plenum Stalin resorts for justification of his crude lie about the fate of Lenin's 'Testament' to tested Jesuit-sanctimonious manners, putting on himself sheep hide of self-abasement and hypocritical 'modesty' ('Stalin is only a minor figure', 'I am not a free agent', 'when the Party imposes an obligation upon me, I must obey', 'Desert my post? That is not in my nature')[106] – all this and similar falsity quite at the spirit of Shchedrinsky's Judas Golovleva were launched Stalin at course, that by example Boris Godunov depicts himself at the Plenum [as] a person, who thrice refuses a 'crowning for the kingdom', that is the post of General Secretary, and only, conceding to the 'unanimous' demands of the 'people', that is of all the delegations of the Congress, 'including Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, obliged Stalin to remains at his post'. Stalin does not miss the opportunity to demonstrate and advertise at this Plenum his rudeness, embracing it as some kind of virtue ('Yes, comrades, I am rude to those who grossly and perfidiously wreck and split the Party'.). This was said by a man who 'immortalised' his name with the greatest perjury, breaking *in all points* in the course of a decade the oath, given before the coffin of Ilyich – to preserve the unity of the Party and so on.

All this rudely played out hasty comedy served partly as introduction, partly as afterword to the *central point* which Stalin earlier relegated to '*some minor questions*': did 'the Party and its Central Committee' conceal Lenin's will? Even this very formulation of the question already contained a distortion [*perederzhka*]. Not the 'Party' concealed Lenin's 'Testament' in 1924, but the leadership of the Central Committee in collusion with the Presidium of the Congress, disguised the will of the 'delegations', acting behind the back of the Thirteenth Congress, combined efforts to *conceal* from the Party this 'Testament' on the pretext that it

[105]Stenographic record of the Fifteenth Party Congress, 1962 edition annex.
[106]Stalin 1927 'trotskyist opposition before and now

'plays into the hands of the Trotskyists' and trusting Stalin's promises to improve.

Stalin began his counter-attack with an assault on the 'former American Communist' Eastman, 'who was [later] expelled from the Party' (not without Stalin's participation) as an American Trotskyist, who in the year of Lenin's death was still in the Party and published the book *Since Lenin Died*, based on the by us written events of Party history. According to Stalin, Eastman had been in connection with Trotsky, which in itself already made him an untrustworthy man, despite the fact that Trotsky was still at that time in the Politburo of the Central Committee.

The story further goes on in this style: '[W]e, the members of the Political Bureau, called upon Trotsky to dissociate himself from Eastman who, clutching at Trotsky and referring to the opposition, had made Trotsky responsible for the slanderous statements against our Party about the "will"' (here again appears the 'Party' instead of the Central Committee). Further an excerpt is given from an article by Trotsky published in 1925 on the pages of the journal *Bolshevik* No. 16, where Trotsky, in Stalin's words, 'since the question was so obvious' indeed dissociated himself from Eastman. On the basis of his story, reinforced for persuasive conviction by frequent statements of Trotsky himself that Lenin 'did not leave any "will"', that '*all talk about concealing or violating a "will" is a malicious invention and is entirely directed against Vladimir Ilyichs real will, and against the interests of the Party he created*' (emphasised by Stalin himself) – Stalin comes to the victorious conclusion: Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev themselves are 'spinning a yarn about the Party and its Central Committee concealing Lenin's "will"'. Moreover, he claims that Lenin's testament 'is fatal to the present leaders of the opposition'. Here again Stalin uses also the 'non-Bolshevism' of Trotsky, and the 'not accidental mistake' of Zinoviev and Kamenev, from which Stalin drew only one conclusion, that politically none of them can be trusted. About his own person he preferred to be silent, referring to the fact that Lenin speak only about his rudeness, but 'rudeness cannot be a shortcoming of the political line'.

Those historians who in 1964 after the Twenty-Second Congress with the 'experience' with the Stalinist cult, dare to write again that Lenin in his 'Testament' expressed political mistrust of Trotsky, borrowed this conclusion from Stalin, hiding their first source.

Let us dig a little deeper now in the case materials, although I must make the reservation that for the entire period of my stay under repression, and even after my rehabilitation I *did not touch any foreign literature*, treating questions of inner-Party struggle in the ranks of the CPSU.

My personal autobiography developed so 'originally', that even the Soviet literature, covering

the events of inner-Party life on the pages central newspapers, I was able to view with a huge delay and, in particular, could not follow what was happening on the aforementioned Plenary Meeting of the C.C. and the C.C.C. in the October days of 1927. Soon after my expulsion from the Party on 7 September 1927, I had to take appropriate measures so as not to fall into the hands of the Stalinist bloodhounds, which at the direction of Kaganovich were going to arrest me in Kharkov just in those days, when in Moscow and Leningrad the well-known anti-Party demonstrations of the Trotskyists and Zinovievites took place. Only *a few weeks* after this, I on the basis of the Kharkov arrest warrant was 'detained' on the Moscow streets, and from this moment began my adventures in prisons, exile, camps, stretching in total almost 29 years. This is the reason why many of the events of that time came to my knowledge many years after they took place. This circumstance has some advantages for me. I can now evaluate these events, already having before myself an excellent experience of the past decades, that served as a starting point for a common turn of Party politics towards a return to Lenin's principles and Leninist norms.

In the same No. 16 *Bolshevik* of 1925, where Trotsky's article was placed on Eastman, the editorial board of *Bolshevik* placed also a letter of N.K. Krupskaya in the English working paper from 7 July 1925 with objections against the book of Eastman.[107] I do not patch the text of Eastman's book itself, but there is no need for it to clarify the position of the question on Lenin's 'Testament' at the time of publication in the press of the speeches of Trotsky and Krupskaya.

The dissociation itself of Trotsky from Eastman, as if made according to Trotsky's own initiative, in fact, happened *on the suggestion of the Politburo of the C.C.*, where Trotsky, while remaining a member, quickly lost his position and influence, after [publication of his] *Lessons of October* and the Thirteenth Party Congress.[108] Remaining in the Politburo, he naturally had to do everything necessary to protect the Party and its Central Committee from attacks from outside, which could not help but serve as an instrument in the hands of the enemies of communism to discredit the post-Lenin Party leadership. In 1925 the intensity of

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[107]Kruspkaya 1925b, 'Lenin and Trotsky: A Comment on Max Eastman's Book, *Since Lenin Died*', *The Workers Monthly*, 4, 11 (September): 516.
or *The Sunday Worker*, 2 August 1925.

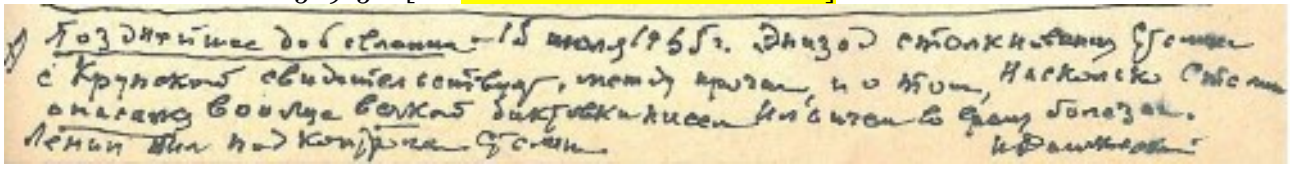
[108]['In the autumn of 1925 the majority in the Politburo foisted upon me a statement concocted by themselves containing a sharp condemnation of Max Eastman. Insofar as the entire leading group of the Opposition considered it inadvisable at that time to initiate an open political struggle, and steered toward making a number of concessions, it naturally could not initiate and develop the struggle over the private question of Eastman who had acted, as I said, on his own accord and at his own risk. That is why, *upon the decision of the leading group of the Opposition*, I signed the statement on Max Eastman *foisted upon me by the majority of the Politburo* with the ultimatum: either sign the statement as written or enter into an open struggle on this account'. Trotsky, *Challenge (1928-29)*, p.223. Cited in Cliff.]

inner-Party struggle was not yet reaching that level, to transform every sharp disagreement, that divided the Party and its leadership, into hostile currents and groups. *Honest* implementation of the famous resolution of 5 December 1923, which actually shared the fate of Lenin's 'Testament', could still prevent developments in the direction that at the next stage already became irreversible. Under different conditions it could have prevented the very emergence of the 'cult'. At this moment Trotsky could not act differently than he did. But the attempt itself of Stalin is typical to hide behind the back of Trotsky, *who was invited to dissociate* [*himself*] *from Eastman in the most official manner from the side of the Politburo*.

It is possible to note incidentally also another fact, which is reported in the *Collected Works of Lenin*, fifth edition, forty-fifth volume, published in the past year. The external reason for the additional dictation by Lenin of the passage of the 'Letter' of 4 January 1923, where he speaks about Stalin, was Stalin's crude manner in relation to Krupskaya. This episode is covered on page 608 of the said volume in note 295 as follows: 'Stalin ... cursed Krupskaya for the fact that she, allegedly, in spite of the doctor's order, on 21 December wrote down the dictation of Lenin of a separate letter (in reality Nadezhda Konstantinovna did this with the permission of the doctors) and grumbling by Krupskaya to the Control Commission. Lenin demanded that Stalin apologise, indicating that otherwise he breaks relation with him. Stalin, as Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova later wrote, apologised. Nevertheless this fact confirms Lenin's description of Stalin in the 'Letter to the Congress'. We add that it also confirms another characterisation of Stalin, given by Lenin in a narrow circle during the Tenth Congress: 'This cook will prepare the Party only peppery dishes'.[109] Is it necessary now at all [to provide] any indirect literary and historical evidence of this characteristic after the fatal consequences of the ignorance of Lenin's letter to the Congress in 1924? Such a necessity, evidently, has not yet disappeared, at least for some historians, who in 1962 wrote *Ocherki* [Essays], books, articles on questions of 'Party history', trying to cross out the now well-known facts and return to the entrenched in Stalin's times perverted depiction of events of this overturned epoch.

Like Trotsky's letter, so also Krupskaya's letter contains an absolutely justified negative evaluation of Eastman's book and the hype around Lenin's letter which carried a clearly pronounced philistine character and, moreover, in a purely American style. But N.K. Krupskaya's letter contained further an important mention for our recollection, that after

[109]Later additional note 15 1965 ... [not readable to me – *Noa Rodman*]



the death of Lenin, under the influence of that feeling of special responsibility, which took over the old Bolsheviks, especially in the face of the confidence shown at a difficult moment to its Party on the part of the working class (Lenin's levy [mass entry of new members into the party]), she wrote then a personal letter to Trotsky, who at that time was not in Moscow. Regardless of the use or the misuse, which the journalist Eastman allowed himself in relation to this letter, acting in any case to the taste of his audience, the letter of Krupskaya represents for us now *independent* interest, and, maybe, it is due to this interest for us [that] Stalin did not find it necessary to mention about it at the Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C., where he seized upon Trotsky's letter.

Here is how Nadezhda Konstantinovna presented her letter on the pages of *Bolshevik*, referring to the views of Vladimir Ilyich about Trotsky in different moments of his life:

> Vladimir Ilyich considered Comrade Trotsky a talented worker devoted to the cause of the revolution, to the cause of the working class, who can be very useful for the party. This is how Vladimir Ilyich assessed [him] in the first days of the meeting in 1902, so he assessed Trotsky also up to the latest times. Such an assessment imposes responsibility. I thought about it when I wrote to Comrade Trotsky. The letter was addressed not to Eastman, but to Trotsky. Trotsky could not, of course, derive from it the conclusion that V.I. considered him his deputy or thought that Comrade Trotsky most correctly understands his views. I could not write anything like that. Similarly, I did not write that V.I. was in solidarity in everything with Comrade Trotsky. Every member of the RCP(b) knows that until 1917 Trotsky was not a Bolshevik, that the Party and V.I. often disagreed with him on the most fundamental issues, that V.I. more than once sharply expressed [himself] against Trotsky, that even after Trotsky joined the ranks of the Party with Vladimir Ilyich had disputes with him. Trotsky now knows exactly how Lenin related to him at [their] meeting in 1902 from a letter from Lenin about him to Plekhanov, and how Lenin related to him recently from Lenin's letter to the Party Congress.[110]

Dwelling further in more details on this letter, Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote about the different understanding of the significance of a Party Congress by Max Eastman, for whom a Party congress is a congress of the Party bureaucrats, and Lenin's attitude towards Party congresses: '[Lenin’s] speeches at congresses were always marked by special seriousness and

[110]Krupskaya 1925a,

thoughtfulness. His letters on internal party relations (the ‘testament’) were also written for the party congress 'knowing that the Party understand the motives, that led him to this letter'. Krupskaya pointed out that such a letter could only be addressed to those, in respect to who there was no doubt that for them the interest of the cause was above everything. She further noted that in Lenin's characterisations of several of the most responsible Party comrades the 'letters impl[ied] no kind of lack of confidence in those comrades to whom Lenin was bound by long years of common work. On the contrary, the letters have a lot of flattering at their address'.[111] This was overlooked not only by Eastman. This is also overlooked now, if one especially has in mind the personality of Trotsky, by those historians, who distort beyond recognition the meaning of Lenin's statements and write about how the 'Letter to the Congress' expressed distrust of Trotsky.

The letter of Konstantinovna Krupskaya, printed forty years ago, is impossible also now to read without the deepest excitement, which is transmitted to the reader by the words of a person who was not only the closest friend of Lenin, but also his surest assistant in life and political activities. In this letter beats the heart of a person who is worried about the fate of the Party, and it moves us all the more, [since] our Party generation which goes back to the past, survived a [to the] whole Party in centuries unprecedented catastrophe in conjunction with the physical extermination of revolutionary cadres on a scale, unknown to a single Party of any country in the world. The beginning of this was the situation of the Party's retreat in the most important – in following Lenin's precepts and advice, formulated in his last address to the Party.

Of course it would be to assume mysticism and superstition, that the whole further development of the Party was predetermined entirely by the fate of Lenin's 'Testament' to the Congress or, more concretely, that if any other person, instead of Stalin, stood at the helm after Lenin's death, they could direct the movement along an entirely different channel. This position is excluded by the Marxist and Leninist understanding of driving forces of historical development in general. But it remains unquestionable, that the Party apprehending tragedy of these horrible decades could not have taken place under another leadership, although the basic movement would have maintained its former direction. About this speaks also the decision of the Twenty-Second Congress, specially in connection with the fate of Lenin's testament.

Meanwhile, after the Twenty-Second Party Congress development of science of Party history did not go forward, but backward. Everything was done to drown Lenin's clearly expressed

[111]Krupskaya 1925b

will, which could not be expressed better than in Lenin's simple and weighed words, in a sea of falsifications, ambiguities and rumours. Things came so far that questions were raised whether in fact Lenin's testament existed or not, whether the 'Letter to the Congress' was a testament, whether it was concealed or published, and so on.

Although each of these questions has a fully serious significance, especially taking into account the fatal turn of events after Lenin's death, but in the interpretation of some historians, it involuntarily recalls the well-known anecdote of the argument of two housewives about a broken pot: 'First of all, I did not take the pot, secondly, the pot was broken, and thirdly, I returned your pot whole'.

In this style the Party history is presented with Lenin's 'Letter to Congress' by none other than Stalin himself at the historical November Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C. in 1927, where with his replies he addressed the talk of opposition leaders about concealment of the 'Testament'.

Essay 3

To the Editorial Board of the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS*. Instead of an Afterword

Kharkov 21 June 1965

I sent you my work 'On Problems of the History of the Party after Lenin', as construction material for a *future* history of the CPSU, which in the main parts has not yet been written. On the same principle in the past and present year you have begun publication of other articles – on the Thirteenth Party Congress, on the Ninth Party Congress and so on. The time for a radical re-working of all conceptions of Party history has more than come, especially in light of the post-Lenin stage of development of the Party. The Stalinist epoch left on all historical works a legacy of falsifications, garbles, lies and distortions, on which 'were brought up' until now a whole Party generation, and the exterminated cadres in this epoch did not leave behind historians either. It requires years, perhaps, the passing even of a whole decade of persistent works of highly-qualified workers of the Party for clearing the soil of this geological rubbish. In its turn this work is impossible without the consultation of the during the Stalinist times classified special funds of Party literature and the resumption of the publication of 'secret' archives. There exists no another path for the restoration of the correct history of the Party and the October revolution itself.

Such a work inevitably demands sharp polemics and critiques. The very nature of Marxism and Leninism, in the history of the development of the Party, emerged and developed on a clear polemical and critical basis. This determines the character of my depiction of the subject. Above all in the sent article, I dwelled in my memory of the events of Party life on personal recollections, where I had occasion to be an active contemporary and participant. Such recollections I have a mass of, and I intend next to use them for my Party autobiography, which in Ukraine closely corresponded with the history of the CPU.[112] The model for me serves Korolenko's *The History of my Contemporary*, but my autobiography will have a sufficient ground to be called *The History of my Party Contemporary*. However in the present work I touch several general questions of Party history, for which I use primary literary sources, among which in the first place all five editions of Lenin's *Works* and all stenographic accounts of Party congresses and conferences that were published or republished before 1965. I intend at the end to add to my work referential material in support that not a single of my expressions is without evidence. They are all founded on historically

[112][manuscript of Dashkovky's autobiography in his family archive]

attested, sufficiently all-sided verification. I followed the well-known Leninist expression – 'Who believes a word in politics is a fool' and in any case did not set myself to goal to fall in the ranks of those fools. This means, that only unintentionally I could have admitted one or other inaccuracies, from which nobody is exempt. On the conclusions they cannot reflect.

I took as foundation exclusively the actual Leninist texts. With these positions I evaluated all-possible annexes, notes and commentaries, accompanying Lenin's collected works and the works belonging to various publishers and editors, among them the workers of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in all its formations, including also that stage when it functioned in its quality as Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute. There was also such a stage of its 'development'.

It is not difficult to observe that I decisively reject as myth-creation in relation to the history of the Party and the revolution after October the existence of some kind of current [named] 'Trotskyism' in ideology and politics, counter-opposed to Leninism. There is no dispute that there existed at various stages of the revolution supporters or groups of supporters of L.D. Trotsky in variable compositions, when there emerged disagreements about concrete questions of the Party's politics. But these groups emerged together with the emergence of these disputed questions and disintegrated after their resolution. They never formed any defined current or 'ism'.

This mythology and myth-creation is committed by its creators Zinoviev and Kamenev, when they in 1923–24 at the time of the inner-Party discussion before the Thirteenth Party Congress clutched at the lightening rod of 'Trotskyism', in order to parry the attack on them for their October strike-breaking. With this they had in mind to ensure for themselves in such a way the exclusive *monopoly on Leninism*.

From them by inheritance both went over to Stalin. He used the weapon of his teachers above all against themselves. They became the first victims of this propaganda of 'anti-Trotskyism', although already in 1926–27 they were forced themselves to debunk their myth-creation and relate it to the most heavy errors of their life. This did not hinder that the mythology of 'Trotskyism' paved then the path of the Stalinist cult and all its consequences.

My claim in this part is based on significant study of the relationship of Lenin and Trotsky for the whole period of their political activity, beginning with the time of Lenin's *Iskra* and in particular for the whole October and post-October period of the existence of the Party. In this period the names of Lenin and Trotsky were invariably found together and embodied the October revolution not only in posters, banners, and slogans but also solidly in the consciousness of the Party, the people and the country.[113] So it was in the manifestation of all

[113][This line is quoted in Medvedev 1989, p.101. *Let History Judge*.]

collaborative work of Lenin and Trotsky in the composition of the leading organs of the Party and government up to Lenin's death. In this sense the whole Party in the full composition was in those years as much Leninist, as 'Trotskyist'. On this testify all Party Congresses from the Sixth to the Twelfth inclusive, which happened during lie of Lenin and Trotsky. The name Stalin was adjoined to Lenin only after the Fourteenth Party Congress, and this served as an introduction to the fact that after his death his coffin was put next to Lenin in the mausoleum.

Then 'everything was upset', like in the Oblonskys' house in Tolstoy [*Anna Karenina*]. We all, except the untimely deceased – are contemporaries of this 'change' which in the final light lead to the unprecedented in no revolutionary party in the world self-extermination of Party cadres on a scale, surpassing the [Party member] casualties of the Civil War and the Patriotic War taken together. In the country over thirty years triumphed the monstrous psychosis of the 'cult of personality', similar to how after the the defeat of the Decembrists and the imprisonment of their leaders in the past century likewise for thirty years was established in Russia the savage Nikolaevsky regime, which, in the expression of Herzen, for long lowered the 'mental temperature' of the whole country.[114]

Something similar in that same nineteenth century happened in France with the Bonapartism of the Second Empire of Napoleon III. Another version of Bonapartism in Prussian manner was the Bismarckian regime in Germany. They both in various proportions represented a mixture of social demagogy, political blackmail and adventurism, bureaucratic corruption, the dictatorship of military and semi-feudal absolutism, veiled by parliamentary forms. They both united in themselves the pseudo-democratic institutions of universal franchise and referenda and plebiscites masking their politics under 'socialism'. In France such people as Guizot and Proudhon were ready to take Bonaparte serious for a socialist and revolutionary, although they were on opposite sides of the political life of France. In Germany Ferdinand Lassalle counted on the help of Bismarck for the realisation of the idea of 'state socialism' and was supported also by Karl Rodbertus.

But speaking nearer to our time similar specimens of *historical abortions* gives the epoch, which gave birth to Hitler and Mussolini on the eve of the general crash of their created systems in the past Patriotic war. Only the deep penetration in events and the language of Marx in his trilogy, devoted to the history of France between 1848–71, was capable both to blow up the foundation of the myth relating to Bonapartism and expose its true physiognomy. Only the language of Herzen in *Kolokol*, branded in the century of

[114][1825 revolt against Tsar Nicholas I's assumption of the throne. Ruled to 1855.]

Nikolaevsky's epoch in Russia, preserved its indelible memory in consciousness of following generation of Russian revolutionaries. It is hopeless to think, that the language depicting the history of the CPSU in the epoch of the cult, with which we meet in the existing textbooks, is capable of something similar.

But the matter is not only in the language of depiction. The very construct creation of such textbooks, as *Istorii KPSS* or *Ocherki istorii KPU* published in the past year, set the collective authorship on the depraved path of *reproduction of historical untruth* in millions of prints. The lion's share of attention is given to all-possible 'deviations' from the Party line, sometimes real, sometimes imaginary which emerged in various moments of the Part's life. But the 'cult of personality', which in its monstrosity many times surpasses any deviation from Party life is not given a single independent chapter nor paragraph. It is even not at all classified as deviation and is set in the shade as a minutia in the background in chapter fourteen of the *Istorii KPSS* among stereotyped reasoning on deviations. In the thirties and forties, the most terrible decades of the current century, the debris and fragments of the former inner-Party opposition of all titles represented only providers of human meat and bones for the meat-grinder, which tortured and destroyed them in various 'Lefortovos' not only in Moscow [with its infamous Lefortovo prison], but also in various latitudes in the whole territory of the USSR, anticipating the future Buchenwald, Auschwitz and other death camps in Hitlerite Germany with their perfected technique of human destruction.

In these constructs is fully obscured also the fact that from Lenin's death for thirty years the most important Leninist stage in development of Marxism in the USSR *broke off*. Under the false slogan of 'Without Lenin on the Leninist path' the machine moved 'not to there', as was observed by the resolution of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Party Congresses. Lenin's death itself, for example, in the *Short Course of History of the CPSU* was put on the second place, and on the first place put the false cult of Stalin in the mantle of Lenin. This style has so deeply entrenched in consciousness that it is still far from shaken out years after the Twenty-Second Party Congress.

Historians assure us that the 'cult of personality' did not change the nature of our Soviet socialist society. The 'boldness' of such claims entirely accords with the full disrespect to the Soviet reader, aware of the facts. The 'nature' of socialism can just as little co-exist with the 'nature' of the 'cult', as it cannot co-exist with the the nature of any god-construction or god-seeking.

The present generation hardly remembers the time of the defeat of the Germany revolution of 1918–19. Therefore the name of the bloodhound Gustav Noske, hangman of the Berlin

workers and member of the leading German Social-Democratic Party does not say anything to them. But, for example, on the same 'principles' as the social-fascist Gustav Noske, his direct receptors in the person of the German fascists – the Hitlerites named their 'totalitarian system' national-socialism.

Perhaps for this reason our historians avoid now any attempt to go deeper into the *nature* of the 'cult of personality'. In fact this presupposes the discovery of its social roots. They approach it not as Marxist historians, obliged to search, discover and analyse all 'connections and mediacies' of social phenomena, as Lenin liked to say.[115] They, by contrast, subscribe in historical science to the philosophy of Machism, which limits the methods to 'pure description'.

Palmiro Togliatti wrote on account of the cult of Stalin in his 'Memorandum' before his death: 'Still unresolved is the problem of the origin of the cult of Stalin and how this became possible. To explain this solely through Stalin's serious personal defects is not completely accepted'. This memorandum was published 10 September 1964 on the pages of *Pravda*, after its appearance in the Italian press.[116] But already on 1 December 1962 I wrote in one of my statements, addressed at the Presidium of the C.C. of the CPSU, that from the ugly particularities of Stalin as a person it is time to move to the determination of the social equivalent of all Stalinist ugliness with the help of the method of Marx and Lenin. History can bring very little learning from the ugliness of the cult of personality, if it will be reduced only to the personal psychopathology of Stalin. The cult does not exist without a serving cult. There is enough freshness in our memory to recall the recent past, when these servants in all regions spread their bloody activity already in that moment when the object of the cult had left the stage.

Moreover, there remains still the explanation of the epidemic character of the dissemination of the cult of personality among the communist parties of other countries of peoples' democracies. All this – are questions without answers. Their solution demands above all a correct formulation, and even within this frame the task can be realised only by collective effort of thought, acting in the correct direction.

In search of this direction we, under the desire to stay on the ground of Marxism and Leninism, cannot pass over those results which already were achieved in this direction for historical science by such works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as: 1. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* of Marx 2. *The Role of Force in History* [on Bismarck] of Engels, 3. *State*

[115][For example Lenin 1921, Once Again On The Trade Unions, vol 32]
[116][In the original text the date is erroneously given as 20 September.]

and Revolution of Lenin. I am listing here only the starting position for further application. An honest application of their method to the study object of interest to us points to the social-economic and political sources, which nurtured and fostered the Stalin cult and continues until now materially and 'ideally' to nourish the interested in this circle. This is the sole path to disclose the 'riddle' of the existence of the cult of personality of Stalin.

There is no contradiction in the fact that at the time of the cult the Soviet people and the communist party governing it accomplished great things and achieved the industrialisation of the country, the transformation of agriculture and the organisation of the defence of the country in the Great Patriotic war, although the victory in this war bore an immensely dear price. It would a great foolishness to think that some personality or even a whole parasitic layer of the population, feeding around this cult could personally put the brakes on the action of the law of social development in our country. This would mean to really return to the ignorant superstitions of the time of the cult. During the time of Bonapartism in France too, as is known, there was a fast development of science and technology, industry and agriculture, there were staged world exhibitions of great achievements and so on. This also gave France the capability without any particular stress to pay after its defeat in the French-Prussian war of 1870–71 those many billions, on whose yeast subsequently the feverish pace arose in short time a colossal heavy industry in Germany in composition of its Prussian and Rhine-Westphalian cities of industry, metallurgy, machine building, chemistry, the Kruppian military factories and so on. Changing the standard correspondingly, one can say the same also about the time of the rule of Hitler and Mussolini, just as also now about the imperialism of the United States. One needs herewith to recall the important circumstance, that a large share in these standards and paces of Soviet industrialisation in the years of the Five Year Plans was invested in the time of the cult in those millions of 'convicts' [prisoners], by which were then populated the Ural, Siberia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Far East in [not...places ...] of all latitudes. About these facts we sometimes encounter some mention on the pages of our journals, sometimes even in Soviet artistic literature and in productions of Soviet poetry.

On the pages of *history* we until now do not find them.

The everyday press brings us from the third side not a little information on the point, to what extent our real gigantic achievements, outstripping the American pace of development of industry and agriculture in the most booming times of American conjuncture, reflect the real standard, but which carries in itself still until now the burden of backwardness in the quality of production at various branches of industry, farming, animal husbandry, transport,

construction, and means of consumption and means of odstyschbs. By the way, the now thrown around most important slogan of equation of our whole economy and technology to the world standard, one can find on the pages of our journals in the twenties among the interventions of L.D. Trotsky, when he still could intervene in the Soviet press.

For thirty years, basically from the death of Lenin to the death of Stalin, the history of the Party worked under the slogan 'Without Lenin – on the Leninist path'. But parallel to it already after the Fourteenth Party Congress the movement gradually shifted to another route: 'Stalin – is the Lenin of today' and in reality Stalin *substituted* Lenin, though the signboard of Leninism was not removed. Only the Twentieth and then the Twenty-Second Congress observed, finally, that the machine went – and has come – 'not there'. This is the singular thought, which the resolution has of the two named Party Congresses, and which boils down to one appeal – *to return to Lenin*.

But if the force of the resolution of the named Congresses remains – and it remains in force – then with the same inevitability emerges from this also another conclusion: all Party resolutions and formulations, without any exception, which determined the path of development of the Party during the time of the cult, are open to historical criticism from the position of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses and cannot be unconditionally laid as a basis of some directive indications for the living modern-day. Whatever the Party resolutions from the Thirteenth up to the Nineteenth Party Congresses inclusive, they all were determined by the Stalinist dictate in one form or another, substituting Leninism by Stalinism and all are subject to revision, as well as the court of history, which stands above any party or government courts.

'Stalin – this is the Lenin of today'. 'Today – who is not a Stalinist, is a Trotskyist'. From these statements, arisen in the time of the cult in the USSR, but stamped in France in the thirties, was born the third member of the syllogism: 'Trotsky – is the worst enemy of Leninism'. It runs like a red thread through all the commentaries to Lenin's *Collected Works*, made by the workers of the IMEL, formerly the IMELS,[117] with the fall of the first two 'premises' – and they fell together with the wrecking of the legend about Stalin, – falls also the legend about Trotsky and Trotskyism, falls the myth and any myth-creation, which it is long past time to remove from the pages of history, just as Stalin's coffin was removed from the Lenin mausoleum. But historians until now are entirely under the spell of myths. The latter are upheld not only by the inertia of thought of the historians themselves, but also by the above-mentioned resolutions of Party Congresses. One cannot return to Lenin other than through

[117][Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute.]

the full liquidation of the whole heritage of Stalinism, imprinted in the resolutions of Congresses. By the way, these Congresses were not that many, if one considers that from 1939 to 1952, that is in the course of thirteen years there was no gathering of a Congress at all. There exists not a single slogan, appeal, not a single formula of those, which were put forth in the inner-Party struggle of the twenties and early thirties and underwent in these years the fierce baiting for 'Trotskyism', where a concrete and honest analysis of their content could not establish with all veracity that behind these slogans and formulas stood Lenin's ideas and statements. Under the form of baiting of 'Trotskyism' in those years in reality there occurred a baiting and a corrosion of Bolshevism from the whole ideology of the Party, recalling even in detail the July days of 1917, when Pereverzev and Alexandrov with the collaboration of some Yermolenko, baited Lenin as a German spy and demanded his prosecution. In the thirties Vyschinsky and company, organising the 'judicial' processes of 1937–38, continued the business of the Pereverzevs and Alexandrovs.

This I apply, in particular, to such 'Trotskyist' slogans: 'the youth is the political barometer of the Party'; 'Science is the granite and it it must form the grist to young teeth'.[118] I apply this to the whole discussion, which accompanied the general fight of citations in 1925–27, around the Stalinist 'construction of socialism in one country', and so on.

When Marx made fun of Lassalle on account of his pretension to discovering the economic 'iron law of wages', Marx wrote that to Lassalle in these words nothing belongs except the word 'iron', which he borrowed from Goethe.[119] In the Trotskyist formula 'youth – is the political barometer of the Party' Trotsky did not add anything except the word 'barometer', borrowed from physics. A barometer, as is known, does not create the weather; it is confined to recording it.[120] The rest – is Lenin's thought about the youth, among them in particular the studying youth, which was expressed by him a *hundredfold* in the whole period of his revolutionary activity.

In equal fashion the appeal of L.D. Trotsky 'Science is the granite and it must form the grist to young teeth' expressed literally the same idea that can be found without difficulty in Lenin in his significant speech at the Third Congress of the Komsomol in 1920.[121] To Trotsky belongs only the curly-haired form of expression, the 'phraseology', for which he sharply and justly [was upbraided] from Lenin, although Lenin herewith often acknowledged Trotsky's great literary talent. The phraseology in this case also hindered the matter, since the figure of

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[118]Trotsky 1922, 'The Position of the Republic and the Tasks of Young Workers'.
[119]Marx
[120][This is a quote from Trotsky 1923, *The New Course*.]
[121] Lenin 1920, 'The Tasks of the Youth Leagues'.

granite in combination with the figure of young teeth [would have] disarmed the youth in its striving to knowledge: sooner the young teeth will break down, than successfully grind the granite of science.

The hounding of *The New Course* and *Lesson of October* of L.D. Trotsky in 1923–24 was undertaken by Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin under the flag of defence of the experienced 'Leninist core of the C.C.' from Trotskyist attacks. But in the moment of appearance of these interventions of Trotsky already existed Lenin's characterisation of this triumvirate of leaders in the 'Letter to the Congress', which strikingly concurred with what was then scoffed as Trotskyism. Lenin's letter for forty years was hidden from the Party like a forbidden Trotskyist document. This whole operation, just as many others subsequent to it, invariably was masked under [the cover of] Leninism. But still in his book *State and Revolution*, as if foreseeing the fate of his own teaching Lenin wrote in the first lines the bitter and prophetic words how great revolutionaries are treated by the *oppressor* classes. In life they subject the revolutionaries to furious persecution, but after their death they are turned into harmless icons for hypocritical worship and fool the working masses, gutting at the same time the revolutionary content of their teaching. That was the *vulgarisation* of the teaching of Marx–Engels, when it fell in the hands of the [spiritual] clerks Kautsky and Bernstein, these 'siokich guards of Marxism' in the definition of Mehring.[122] That was the *vulgarisation* of the teaching of Lenin, when it fell in the hands of the clerks Zinoviev and Kamenev.

In both cases the revolutionary character of Marxism was *restored* by the efforts of 'foreigners' in the party: Franz Mehring did not yet belong to German Social Democracy when he already embarked on his classical work *The History of German Social Democracy* [1897–98], on which were raised a whole generation of Marxists and Leninists.[123] He stood as well at the cradle of the German communist party together with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. L.D. Trotsky too did not belong earlier to the party of the Bolsheviks, in which he entered in the summer 1917 after long fights with Lenin prior to the revolution, but together with Lenin he fought in the cradle of the October 1917 revolution.

The thundering 'ideological' smashing of the whole opposition of the twenties and early thirties invariably coincided with the slogan 'Down with factionalism'. The question about factionalism merits particular attention. We here meet not with a single mythology, but with a mixture of half-truths and half-legends.

It remains an incontrovertible truth that at the Tenth Party Congress Lenin himself wrote a

[122]Mehring ?
[123][This is not precise, as Mehring joined the SPD already in 1891.]

significant resolution about the unity of the Party and factionalism, which from then on became Leninist Party law. Together with this it is well-known, that at this Tenth Party Congress there was accepted apparently unanimously also a resolution about inner-Party democracy. On this ground often happened inner-Party clashes because each time in a moment there emerged some disagreement one side emphasised the demand of the Tenth Congress to liquidate factionalism and groups, while the other side emphasised the demand of inner-Party democracy. It is not the purpose to dwell in detail now on these moments. I confine myself to an exact reference to Lenin's attitude, having direct connection with these questions, although also relating to the earlier pre-revolutionary times of 1911, in the climax of the fight of Lenin with Trotsky and Trotsky's reconciliation toward the liquidators and the otzovists. This fight, as is known, took place at the very time when Trotsky constructed the August bloc against the Bolsheviks, and at the Prague Conference the Bolsheviks finally obtained victory in the fight against Trotsky, the otzovists and liquidators. This epoch is known further also because precisely in this period Stalin for the first time intervened on the political arena as a master of revolution (as he called himself in one of his Transcaucasian interventions in the twenties).

In 1957 appeared the thirty-sixth volume of the fourth edition of Lenin's *Works*, and one could get Lenin's article 'The State of Affairs in the Party', written in July 1911. The article was then directed directly against Trotsky and the exposure of his factional machinations against the Bolsheviks. It would seem strange why it did not appear already during Lenin's life in not a single of the first editions of his *Works*. It was *first* published in 1956 in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5, and from there moved in the following year to the thirty-sixth volume.[124] Why was the Twentieth Congress necessary for this article to become accessible to review, if it was about Trotsky? The secret is easy to discover. Lenin in it gives such a basic formulation of the question on the relationship of partyism and factionalism. Let us provide his exact words, which now sound almost Trotskyist:

> In these circumstances, the shouts against “factionalism” are so empty, especially when coming from those who have just formed their own faction. Surely it is time to understand that shouts against factionalism are meant to *distract attention* from the really important question, that of the Party or *anti-Party* content of the activity of the various factions.[125]

[124]In the fifth edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* this article can be found on pp. 300–4 of volume twenty. [Lenin 1911, vol. 36]
[125]Lenin 1911

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The article concludes thus:

> All Bolsheviks must unite, organise the conference[126] speedily and *at all costs*, win a victory at it or go over to open and straightforward opposition based on principle. Only Bolshevism, which is alien to waverings either to the left or to the right, can bring the Party out on to the high road.

That is how Lenin viewed the question about partyism and factionalism in 1911, when there was a fight for the Party against Mensheviks, liquidators, otzovists, practicists, Trotskyists of the time without quotes, which in the person of L.D. Trotsky depicted themselves [as] outside the factions, a*nd sometimes the Leninists were in the minority*. One can say that his views changed after October, when the Bolsheviks became the head of the Party and revolution. This is true in the sense that precisely to Lenin belongs the initiative of the resolution at the Tenth Party Congress on the dissolution of all factions and groups and on the unity of the Party. But even the Tenth Congress did not abrogate and never put its task to abrogate the principle significance of Lenin's work *"Left-Wing" Communism: an Infantile Disorder*, written a year before the Tenth Party Congress. It is not without reason that just in the present year we recently marked the forty-fifth year of this significant Leninist work, which up to the present has topical significance. There we find the following lines on the question of factions and factionalism.

> The learned fools and the old women of the Second International, who had arrogantly and contemptuously turned up their noses at the abundance of “factions” in the Russian socialist movement and at the bitter struggle they were waging among themselves, were unable—when the war deprived them of their vaunted “legality” in all the advanced countries— to organise anything even approximating such a free (illegal) interchange of views and such a free (illegal) evolution of correct views as the Russian revolutionaries did in Switzerland and in a number of other countries.[127]

Precisely with this circumstance Lenin connected the victory of the Bolsheviks in October 1917, and as regards the question on the relationship between party discipline and the

[126]This refers to the Prague Conference.
[127]Lenin 1920

danger which factionalism in the party entails, Lenin in this same work enumerated the necessary conditions, without which discipline in the revolutionary party is not feasible. He included in them:

> First, by the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its tenacity, self-sacrifice and heroism. Second, by its ability to link up, maintain the closest contact, and [...] merge, in certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people – primarily with the proletariat, *but also with the non-proletarian* masses of working people. Third, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided the broad masses have seen, *from their own experience*, that they are correct. Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party really capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline inevitably fall flat and end up in phrasemongering and clowning.

We do not hide, that these words of Lenin were cited by Zinoviev at the unified Plenary meeting of the C.C. and C.C.C. in October 1927, where he and Trotsky for the last time took advantage of the Party tribune prior to their illegitimate exclusion from the composition of the C.C. of the Party. This is the same Plenum which served as prologue to the mass suppression, and later also extermination of all opponents of Stalin's regime. Having openly seized power and leadership in its hands *the faction of Stalin* baited the opposition for factionalism, by means of which it itself came to power. The account on this disgraceful 1927 Plenum of the C.C. of the CPSU was published in the 'Discussion list' of *Pravda* No. 2 prior to the Fifteenth Party Congress, in order to then be buried in the cellars of special collections and archives.

On the inner-Party struggle of the late twenties there exists an *immense literature* of a one-sided direction. A correct history on it has not only still not been written. Not prepared are even the prerequisites for the collection of reliable material for its study. All this still lies ahead.

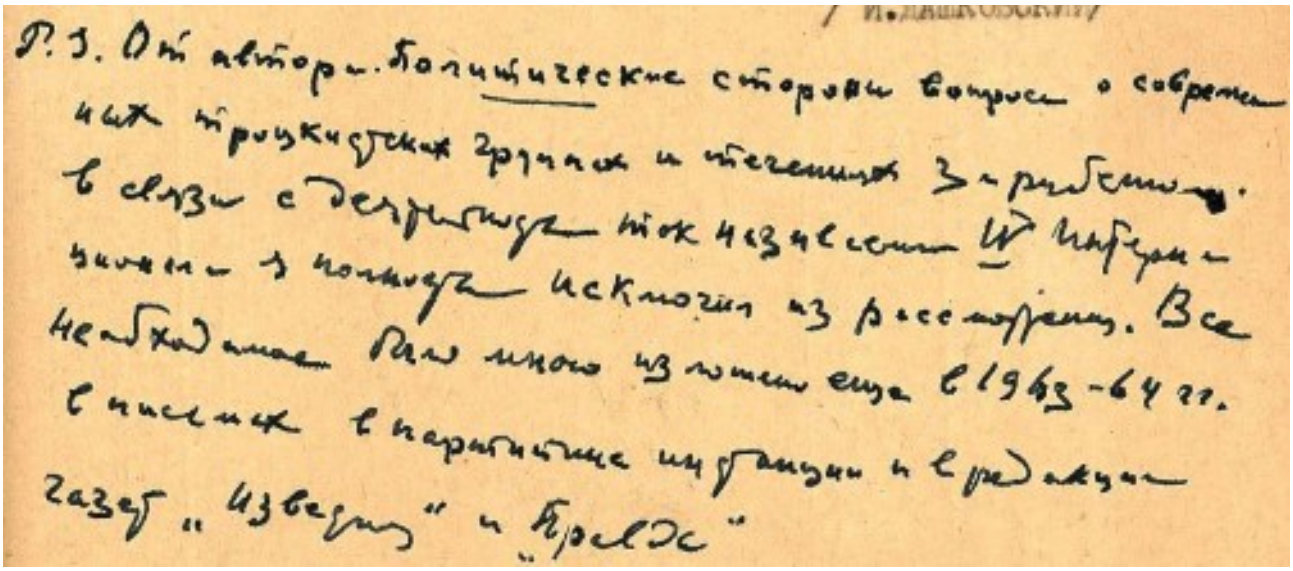
It would be absolutely foolish to deny the existence in the opposition's actions of many mistakes and errors, big, average and small, which conditioned its defeat and led to the triumph of Stalinism. All this is the object of numerous personal matters of the

oppositionists of all titles, including also my party case in the Party Commission of the C.C. of the CPSU.[128] I am not about to delve here into these questions. This will be the object of a special article. But, perhaps, a more eloquent answer on similar questions the reader finds not in professional Party politicians, ideologues, literary writers, organisers and simple Party workers, but in one of the most favourite poets of the contemporary Soviet youth – Yevgeny Yevtushenko. He put the following words on the lips of Stenka Razin before execution:

> My head is to blame. I can see, sentencing myself:
> I was halfway against things, when I ought to have gone to the very end.[129]

Not only the Party, but also the opposition of all colours, insofar as it survived after the camps and shootings, had in the face of the catastrophe of the thirties and forties to subject to reappraisal its whole value and draw the corresponding conclusions. On this in a special conversation.

P.S.
From the author the *political* side of the question on the event of the Trotskyist groups and .... from repression. All necessary still in the years 1943–64 .. Party instances .. and .. newspapers *Izvestia* and *Pravda*.



[128][Dashkovsky probably means his writings to the Commission, which he later said contained some errors.]
[129]Yevtushenko 1964 [1967, 'The Execution of Stenka Razin', in *Bratsk Station, and Other New Poems*, New York: Anchor Books.].

Essay 4

History of the CPSU at a Crossroads.
Open Letter to the Editorial Board of the Journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS*.

5 February 1966, Kharkov.

Since June–July of last year 1965 the following works of mine are found at the disposition of the editorial board:

1. On Problems of the History of the Party after Lenin. Reflections on occasion and without occasion.
2. Instead of an Afterword (to the above essay).
3. From 'Critical Notes on Question of the History of the CPSU: [The Revolution of] 1905, Trotskyism and the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Delegates'.

On the continuation of these critical reflections I work already about one and a half year, with the intent to bring them to relative completeness. But also taken by itself they represents an *independent* whole, the character of which is easily established already with the first lines. This – is the attempt of systematic unmasking of the whole falsifications ascending mainly to the epoch of the emergence of the Stalinist cult (but not only it), which in most concentrated form was concentrated in the *Short Course of History of the CPSU* 1938 (but not only in it). The mentioned works, regardless of the *historical* object of depiction involves acute questions of the political present-day. Conscious of this I sent then a second copy for information to the address of the Institute of History under the C.C. of the CPU in Kiev, and a copy of the confirmation replies of the editors – to the Party Commission under the C.C. of the CPSU in Moscow. Thus I did everything that depended on me, for ensuring an *open* formulation on the pages of the Party press of questions of Party history, connected with the liquidation of all distortions of this history in the epoch of the cult and above all the restoration of the correct genuine political relationship of V.I. Lenin and L.D. Trotsky through the primary sources available to me. If I succeeded in this, although within the confines of my limited power and information, then the solution of such task significantly could help 'overcome all layers, begotten by the cult of personality in the historical-Party science'. This phrase is from the 'preface' to the first volume of a multi-volume history of the CPSU.

I began by stating my abstention from any attempt to bury myself in archives and to act on this ground in some kind of competition with the historians–professionals. I took my primary sources, mainly, from the actual works of V.I. Lenin and those works of L. D. Trotsky, which were in their time published or re-published on the territory of the USSR during his life and which now can be found in extremely inadequate volume either in old filings of newspapers and journals, or in special funds of libraries.[130] Beyond my theme remained all foreign literature of the question. I in no sense intended to exhaust the question, but the intent was only to lay a *beginning* through conscientiously established facts and their interrelations.

Work on these questions, of course, is impossible without account of the materials, published on the pages of historical journals and in the first place *Voprosii istorii KPSS*. But on this latter side of the matter there will be talk in more detail later. As regards the *direct* promise of the editors to additionally inform me 'about the possibility of using my works' in the journal, then I until now can observe that only the recent five-minute telephone conversation with department head of the C.C. of the CPU comrade Mitjukov, caused not by my initiative, but due to the notification to me through the Kharkov regional committee of the CPSU – department of science and higher educational institutions [*VUZov*] about the point, that I must soon receive form there some answer on the question interesting me. My attempt to figure out something more determined gave no results. I can only learn from the department head of the C.C. of the CPU that my article was *attentively* read, but that it goes against some policies, although all I wrote is based on established facts. With this our conversation broke off. The promised to me written reply until now I do not have either from the editors, or from the above-named person and institution. Therefore I decided to continue the conversation in the form of the present open letter, in the hope that it will get a direct reply from the editorial board on the directly posed questions.

My articles represent 'construction material for a future history of the CPSU', which in the main parts, as I wrote, has still not been written. For now there exist one-volume textbooks and the aid on this object appears [to be] only provisional surrogates of Party history, which in their basis did not progress much from the *Short Course*. The promise of further volumes of a multi-volume history until now live in a 'uterine' period, and even if it will be published for the fiftieth anniversary [in 1967] of October, then it, most likely, will have the fate of a 'jubilee' edition with the defects common to such editions, about which one can judge by the

[130] The access to such special funds is furnished with all possible obstacles, at least in Kharkov, that it practically is almost in accessible, for use.

already prepared materials published for it.

I attempt to use the text of the present letter for a critical review of some of these materials, which I in some measure can consider an attempt of the editors to express in a *roundabout way* their relation to the questions I formulated. It is not a secret, of course, that these questions were called and are call forth not only in me personally: the 'person' here can be pushed back to the very furthest corner. But the circumstance that the editorial board found it necessary to start on its pages, apart from a special section 'From materials of the multi-volume history of the CPSU' still another section 'Against bourgeois falsifiers of the history of the CPSU' indicates that the history of the Party is written, as well created under the impact of diverse forces and the circumstance also in its turn impacts on the latter in the most diverse relations. The political struggle here, as also everywhere goes parallel with an acute struggle of ideology. There is therefore nothing unexpected also in the point that very often the mouths of 'bourgeois falsifiers of the history of the CPSU' speak 'the class truth of the class enemy', while in the various authors composing the 'materials for the multi-volume history of the CPSU' one often meets such truth in 'sweet-sounding communist lies'.[131] It is better therefore to take at once the bull by the horns and on concrete materials make out what is what.

1.

As such material I chose for the beginning the article of A.G. Titov[132] printed in the journal's No. 7 'The Struggle of the Communist Party with Trotskyism in the Period of the 1923–24 Discussion', which serves evidently as reaction to the first part of my 'Reflections', entitled 'Around the Thirteenth Party Congress'.

The 1923–24 discussion has for me a determining autobiographical meaning, since, working in Kharkov, I took a most active part in it. But all autobiographical moments I cover in detail in another of my prepared work, which is dedicated to a critique of the *Essays of the History of the CPU*. Here I confine myself to the simple indication that neither in 1923, nor even in 1925 up to the end of the year *was I connected to any inner-Party opposition*. Even the sensational in its time article of mine 'On Inner-Party Themes', which Kaganovich and others wanted to turn into something like the opposition's 'manifesto' on the eve of the Fourteenth Party Congress, was written by me in reality only on the basis of my personal impressions after the return from a scientific trip abroad in response to the invitation of

[131] Lenin 1922, 'Notes for a Speech on March 27, 1922', vol 36
[132] [Aleksandr Grigor'evich Titov. historian, also wrote:]

Party organs of the RSFSR and USSR to speak out on inner-Party questions. There is enough literary and other proofs, that in my activities of those years, and in particular in the for me more 'plenteous' literature year of 1925 I invariably stood on the *Leninist* position on the leading edge of political struggles. My action in the discussion of 1923–24 in essence represented a sharp protest *against the attempt by the two sides to knock t*he Party off the *Leninist* path onto the path of *factional* struggle, where in the quality of sole clearly pronounced faction acted the very leading triumvirate of the Poliburo – in the persons of Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin with N.I. Bukharin in traces, having [as] its closest objective to facilitate the *undermining* of the ground around L.D. Trotsky 'as foreigner in the Party' and to monopolise Leninism in the hands of the 'basic Leninist core'. For all the particularity of this struggle I have to refer the editors and possible readers to my article, on which the editors meditate already more than seven months. It is not useless to add here just one dash characterising the situation of this discussion, insofar as the editors try in the article of A.G. Titov to concentrate attention to the question on the notorious 'Trotskyism'. In those days the Kharkov *Kommunist* of 16 January 1924 published on its pages the following telegram to L.D. Trotsky:

> The general meeting of the cell under the C.C. of the C.P.U.(b), having heard with alarm about the illness of Comrade Trotsky, sends him a warm commitment and a wish [for] speedy recovery and return to leadership work in the Party. – Chairman of the meeting Rubach.

This was in the same days, when at the command of the top of the Party organisation there was a mobilisation for a campaign of fierce baiting of Trotsky on account of his *The New Course*, later *The Lessons of October*, and his illness itself was depicted as a 'manoeuvre' or 'diplomatic trick'. In my article 'Around the Thirteenth Party Congress' I cite the letter of N.K. Krupskaya to Trotsky, who at the time of Lenin's death was in the Caucasus. This Caucasian trip of L.D. Trotsky itself, it is understood, was also interpreted as a manoeuvre.[133]

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[133]The modern technology of radio broadcasting, television and so on, as is known, in great degree facilitates not only the matter of distribution of any information. It in no less degree facilitates also the matter of all possible falsifications, disinformation, mystification and simple fooling of the viewers and listeners. This promotes the progress of the artistic art of reincarnation, creating the figures of the living and dead persons of any sort. I remember this in connection with the fact that no long before the October days of 1964 in my apartment I watched an excerpt of some 'documentary' film, depicting the last days of illness and death of Lenin. I do not recall the name of this film, but there was reproduced a scene, when Krupskaya carries to bed the sick Ilyich, but somewhere outside there is a lot of noise and a rumble of voices, depicting the developments of the Party

In general, for L.D. Trotsky, as I personally remember, it was impossible then to take a step, literally 'neither to lie down, nor sit down', for his actions not to be followed on the heel by poisonous *gossip*. However, among the Party ranks there were still alive people who under the banner of October and under the Party leadership of 'Lenin and Trotsky' stormed the Winter Palace, who committed the October revolution in the capitals and in the periphery, hammered together the cadre of the Red Guards and Red Army, victoriously began and victoriously ended the civil war. And Lenin named his best Party cadre those communists, who went through the school of civil war. For all these people it was monstrous to hear the word 'Trotskyism' and the scornful attitude toward Trotsky, if in the words of many of them (I myself had occasion to hear these words more than once at various Party meetings), every arrival of Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council Trotsky in the train on some sector of the front, where the newspaper *V Puti* was published, and every visitation of Trotsky of the advanced parts of the troops was the equivalent to the reinforcement of a whole division.[134] It was necessary to *break* these cadre, it was necessary in general to *exterminate* the overwhelming majority of the Party cadre in the period of the cult, in order on this 'fertilised' soil for the word 'Trotskyism' itself to be able to take root, known before the revolution, mainly, to the former revolutionary emigrés. For this word the soil in 1923–24 still did not exist, although the strengthened preparation was already made for its creation.

What can be found on this question in the article of A.G. Titov? He is forced to recognise, that the course of the 1923–24 discussion is 'poorly illuminated in the literature', and the footnote on page 40 lists the works of those historians who dealt with this discussion. They all are dated in the majority to the thirties–forties, that is in the years of the cult, or in the first half of the fifties, when the seal of the cult still shone through thin putty. To expect of this literature a correct display of the facts of the inner-Party struggle after Lenin's death is entirely hopeless. Therefore A.G. Titov undertakes to *supplement* it.

We no longer hear from him that the discussion of that time was *imposed* on the Party by the opposition, as this was told in 1964 by Nadtocheev in his article 'The Thirteenth Party

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discussion of 1923–24. There are heard from somewhere the screams of the leaders of the opposition 'Lenin is with us', and the sick Lenin jumps out of bed, runs to the window, from where the cries are coming, opens it wide and he picturesquely exclaims 'No! I am not with you. I am against you'! and so on.

There is no need to explain that all this was a massive mystification, not having any support in historical facts. Is it necessary to recall what control was established then from the side of the leadership of the C.C. also over Lenin, and, at the same time, also over N.K. Krupskaya, when Lenin dictated to her and his secretaries his last 'Pages from a Diary' and his 'Letters to the Congress', where the last written one of 4 January 1923 relates exactly to the characterisation of Stalin, and the previous one to the characterisation of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Bukharin, Trotsky. From these characterisations [from] Trotsky then absolutely nothing was hidden, but there was something to be embarrassed about [for] 'the closest disciples of Lenin'.

[134] [This line is referenced in Medvedev 1989, p. 108: 'I must agree with Dashkovsky's statement that wherever Trotsky's train arrived on some sector of the front, it was the equivalent of a fresh division'.]

Congress'. In Titov we meet on the foreground with such things: low wages, significantly lower than the pre-war level, often , millions of unemployed, price scissors and the crisis of sale under acute lack of manufactured goods, economic both in countryside and city, *'where the matter went up to strikes*'. This is entirely not the picture which we still in 1964 met on the pages of the journal in Nadtocheev. This is no less than three-quarters on the side of what was said in my article 'Around the Thirteenth Party Congress'. I do not know, which literary canon aided A.G Titov, more accurately, the journal's editorial board itself though by the way, although in polemical form (I do not at all beg for compliments) mentions the existence of such work as mine in the drawer of the editorial board and about the formulation in it of the same questions.

Further A.G. Titov tries to *patter* grease the same acute questions, which, in his words, made the situation in the country in the autumn of 1923 '*difficult*'. Not mentioning a single concrete fact, not indicating any concrete data and dates, he in the most general expressions tells the reader about the sudden fall of prices of manufactured goods, the rise of prices of agricultural goods, the organisation of cheap credit for the peasantry, the improvement of the work of state-trade and cooperation, introduction of Chervonets currency, the establishment of the issuance of wages and so on, and the assurance that 'all this' will be helped 'in the main' everyone in the world, including 'strengthening confidence' and so on, simply by the pike's command.[135] Miracles, yes and only, and all this is achieved for the non-believer in the short term of two months! This – under the agility of ours, about which Lenin spoke at the Eleventh Congress shortly before.

The same style is sustained by the author when he moves to inner-Party questions. We learn, that under the *generally correct line* 'among places' there were cases of 'crude violation of inner-Party democracy', 'not everywhere was a strong connection with the non-Party people', as this 'was shown by the autumn strikes', though also emerged, in the author's words, more favourable conditions for inner-Party democracy. I remember that around those years, speaking at some Party meeting, Zinoviev spoke about newspaper workers, 'in which the language is without bones, a pen without any thrust'. This is the very same language, in which the beginning of the article of A.G. Titov is written: He somewhat enlivens when he comes to speak about *archival documents*. There for a whole six pages he begins to pour forth references to archival materials, which as *a rule are nowhere published*, where the reader is provided the 'right' to believe the word of the historians about everything which relates to the inner-Party politics of the C.C. in the autumn 1923, which was crowned

[135][Russian fable.]

unanimously taken resolution of the Politburo of the C.C. on 5 December of the same year. All these pages represent the *narrative of the archivist* about the intrigues behind the scene and plots in the inner-Party struggle, which at that time did not *leave the frame of the C.C. and Politburo* and could not *be known to the wide circles of the Party*.[136]

This was: 1. The September 1923 Plenum of the C.C. and its decision 'to create an authoritative commission for the preparation of concrete suggestions in the domain of Party construction. 2. The episode with the letter of L.D. Trotsky of 8 October 1923 where the whole activity of the C.C. was subjected to criticism. This letter also was not brought to the attention of the Party. Trotsky's letter without any justification is named in the article of Titov as 'factional document', 'platform' and such bogeys, although the sphere of their distribution was only at the *top* of the Party. 3. The next stage – the new factional document 'the declaration of the forty-six', submitted 15 October 1923. In the words of Titov 'the signature of Trotsky was not on the declaration', but in the words of the same Titov – 'this was only a manoeuvre', because the statement was discussed in Trotsky's apartment and proceeded ostensibly from the arrangement of Trotsky's letter. 4. The next phase – the decision of the Politburo to convene 25 October 1923 a Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. with participation of representatives of the largest Party organisations, having allowed on this Plenum twelve authors of the 'Declaration of 46'. 5. On 19–20 October 1923 there occurs an exchange of letters between the Politburo and Trotsky, with the bringing of attention of these letters to the Plenum. 6. On 25–27 October 1923 took place the unified Plenum. The number of voices is given: 102 to 2-x with 10. abstentions for the condemnation of the action of 'Trotskyists', for the recognition of the correct line of the Politburo, prohibition of discussion on the platform and announcement of letters and documents of the C.C. in opposition.

'The decisions of the October 1923 Plenum – writes A.G. Titov, could become the basis for the termination of inner-Party struggle if the Trotskyists had respected Party discipline'.[137]

But it turns out, instead this opposition only mutated the struggle transferring it into the local organisations, to which, by the way, they had full right, if one takes account of the seriousness of the situation. Furthermore, Titov in his article qualifies the publication in *Pravda* in October leading article of Zinoviev 'New Tasks of the Party', written by instruction of the C.C. of the R.C.P., as a document, which 'was used by the Trotskyists'. Zinoviev

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[136] Here it is worth to recall Engels: 'Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses [...] must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for *[with body and soul]*. The history of the last fifty years has taught us that' (Engels, Introduction to Class Struggle). This was said in 1895. But in 1923 among us they wanted to decide such questions without the mass.

[137] This decision of the October 1923 Plenum *was in reality the annulment of the unanimous decree* of the Politburo of the C.C. of 5 December 1923.

incriminates such words, as 'calm' and 'stagnation' in application to inner-Party life. One can think that already then existed in the Party a secret bloc of Trotsky with Zinoviev, although genuine history demonstrates that Zinoviev at the Thirteenth Congress, in Stalin's words, demanded 'Trotsky's blood', and on the other side Trotsky responded to this in the circle of closest friends, that he – Trotsky – can only be torn off from the Party with blood.

Also here and further Titov already without any reservations juggles with the labels 'Trotskyists' in connection with the 'declaration of the forty-six', which, in his determination, was written by such an 'anti-Leninist elements': 'Trotskyists', 'Decists', remnants of the 'left' communists, and 'Workers' Opposition'. From these signatories Titov names only even by name – Preobrazhensky, Pyatakov, Osinsky, Vladimir Smirnov, Rafaïl, Antonov-Ovseenko (the other thirty-nine names are skipped by the word 'others'). Such method is used by Titov in the further handling of this group of 'forty-six', as a 'single' Trotskyist whole on the basis that the discussion of the 'declaration' happened in the apartment of Trotsky on 8 October 1923.

Anyone, who is familiar with the history of the inner-Party struggles in the framework of the RSDLP, understands, that such historical facts, as the beginning of discord, the formation of groups and tendencies, invariably requires precise analysis of the *political* ground, on which all this happens, and that the question at whose apartment this happened, can represent only a *police*, but not a *political* interest. Let us recall that, for example, the well-known *factional* meeting of the triumvirate Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin in the epoch between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Party Congresses took place in Kislovodsk not even in an apartment, but in a cave, and yet it never was the subject of political, still less police investigation or archival research.

Further, it is known, that such tendencies, as the 'Decists', 'Workers' Opposition', further the 'left' communists at various stages of movement were not only *anti-Leninist*, but also *anti-Trotskyist tendencies*. Let us recall how sharply Lenin and Trotsky together spoke against the Decists and the Workers' Opposition. The 'left' communists had much more in common with the left SRs than with the Trotskyists, and herewith not only in the time of Brest. As regards the Trotskyists, then for example, one should not forget, that among them there were not only such people as Pyatakov, but also such as F. Dzerzhinsky, F. Kon, A. Andreev, and later their paths diverged so much that, for example, Pyatakov in the Stalinist times was blamed [for] the sudden death of Dzerzhinsky.

All that Titov filled the archival pages of his article with represents not a historical analysis of a concrete situation, but a bare retelling of every possible correspondence and for historians

can serve only as raw material. For the construction of some sort of conclusions from this on the historical plain requires detailed study of all, without exception, connections and mediations of events in their mutual conditioning. Meanwhile, the whole article of Titov is riddled by a coarse tendentiousness and one-sidedness of selection of facts and such arbitrary assessments, where at every step figure catchwords 'hypocrisy', 'infidelity', 'inability' or unsubstantiated accusations of 'extreme subjectivism', 'preaching violence', 'naked administration', 'the striving to slip something under', to 'undermine', to 'push' something. Every action or speech of L.D. Trotsky acquires in the hands of Titov the character of some ever suspect 'manoeuvre' and 'dirty trick', recalling the anecdote of the time of Napoleon and Talleyrand, told by the historian [Yevgeny] Tarle about a conversation of two diplomats. One says to the other: have you heard the news – Talleyrand is dead! 'Interesting – why was this needed for him'?

On page forty-seven of his archival story the author mentions the 'counter-resolution of the four', on behalf of Pyatakov, Preobrazhensky, Osinsky and Smirnov, and presents it as a sustained in the spirit of Trotsky's writings, although this group consisted of two Trotskyists and two Decists.

The pinnacle of mockery over historical documents represents the mention of Titov of 'Trotsky's *false* accusation of the Central Committee and [its] unwillingness to carry out the decision of the Twelfth Party Congress about Gosplan'. The letter of Lenin to the Thirteenth Party Congress, which forty years was hidden as a Trotskyist document, in Titov's opinion said not at all, what Lenin wrote about Trotsky, but said the meaning that the interpreter Titov decided to invest in this letter. And this meaning would be boiled down to the point that Lenin 'not at all support the proposal of Trotsky to *bring to nought the role of the Party in decisions of economic questions*' (!?). So instead of history in front of the *eyes* of the reader occurs a not very dexterous *fabrication* of the meaning of the Lenin's document, and the *proposal of Trotsky* (in particular). For the information of Titov let us note that literally the same thought of Ilyich regarding Gosplan he could find in the stenographic record of the Thirteenth Party Congress, if he bothered to tear himself away from the archives and familiarised himself with the speech of G.M. Krizhizhanovsky, who reported the Congress of numerous letters of Lenin about Gosplan.

The concluding part of Titov's article contains information about the voting process by results of the 1923–24 discussion. Not dwelling on the details, let us note only the general results. For the C.C. 98.7 per cent of communists voted, for the opposition – 1.3 per cent. The result, it is understood, was '*crushing*' for the opposition. To understand these results it is

proper to recall the following words of Zinoviev, addressed at the October Plenum of the C.C. of the CPSU in 1927 about the situation in the Party: 'Before you raise your hand, write [your] spiritual testament as Party member, prepare to hand over your Party membership card, prepare to go to the employment service'. The year 1927, it is understood, had several difference from the year 1923, when the Stalinist regime only was being born and groping for its possibility of bloom. But in 1923 there existed the Zinovievite regime, which was so well-known to everyone, that even the members of the 1927 Plenum reminded Zinoviev about it at his and Trotsky's expulsion from the C.C.'s composition. This regime was particularly ferocious exactly in relation to Trotsky and the Trotskyists.

If one attaches meaning to such statistical voting results, which were calculated to a tenth of a per cent and served to shame any opposition, then we remind the reader of another statistic. In the stenographic account of the Eighteenth Party Congress, which took place in 1939, Stalin reported to the Congress:

> Certain foreign pressmen have been talking drivel to the effect that the purging of Soviet organizations of spies, assassins and wreckers like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Yakir, Tukhachevsky, Rosengoltz, Bukharin and other fiends has "shaken" the Soviet system and caused its "demoralization." [...] In 1937 Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich and other fiends were sentenced to be shot. After that, the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. were held. In these elections, 98.6 per cent of the total vote was cast for the Soviet power. At the beginning of 1938 Rosengoltz, Rykov, Bukharin and other fiends were sentenced to be shot. After that, the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics were held. In these elections 99.4 per cent of the total vote was cast for the Soviet power.[138]

Those from among the Soviet historians of the present generation who collect for argument such statistics for illustration of any 'crushing' defeat of various groups and tendencies, must firmly be reminded of the above-mentioned Stalinist statistics at the Eighteenth Party Congress, which now cannot be found in any textbook of the history of the CPSU. It is drenched in blood.

Somewhat less eerie, but still an analogous type of voting statistic can be met on the pages of textbooks in use on account of the concluding vote before the Fifteenth Party Congress. Until now the legend goes around that for the policy of the C.C. in 1927 voted 424 thousand Party

[138]Stalin 1939, vol 14

members, and for the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc 4 thousand – less than one per cent. True, already within a year after this both Stalin and Yaroslavsky retroactively made a big correction in these 'statistics', but for historians these later changes in the numbers happened unnoticed to ears and eyes, when the question was already decided.

2.

The article of N.P. Mikeshin 'Trotskyism in the Arsenal of Imperialist Propaganda' was placed in the December issue of the journal under the 'heading' 'Against bourgeois falsification of the history of the CPSU'. It directs attention to itself by its name, by its 'heading' as well as by its information about the foreign literature about Trotskyism. Let us begin with the latter.

American bourgeois press – we learn from the author – names 1964 the year of 'unprecedented ugliness' on anti-Leninist works. 'Unprecedented ugliness' – this is the *facts*, although also taken from imperialist propaganda'. 'Anti-Leninist works' – this is the author's *assessment* of these facts. We will for now proceed from these facts, all the more since they are not disputed by N.P. Mikeshin. And the facts say that over the single year 1962 and in general over the last years 'the main works of Trotsky are reprinted in increasing editions and on unprecedented scale in the United States, West-Germany, Italy, France, Greece, Denmark and other capitalist countries', in other words, in the whole modern capitalist world. In this world, one must believe, there live not only bourgeois falsifiers and monopolists, but also the working class, which, as is known, constitutes in any capitalist country the overwhelming majority of the population, and the middle layer, including intelligentsia of all qualifications, and the petty bourgeoisie of the city and countryside. Mikeshin does not tell us anything about how the matter stands in that sense on the territory of the socialist countries and peoples' democracies, where the listed categories too prevail in the majority. He remains silent likewise about how to this *stream* of 'Trotskyist' literature relate the poisonous, in his words, anti-Soviet venom of 'people's minds little sophisticated in politics' of communist and labour parties of capitalist countries as well as of peoples' democracies or socialist countries.[139] On page 52 is reported more about the existence of 'newspapers and journals, published by the Trotskyists in France, Italy and the United States, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, finally, since precisely from the Uruguayan newspaper *Fronte Obrero*' (Workers' front), issued by Trotskysists, the author brings one quote. Thus,

[139]Over a few pages the 'little sophisticated minds' is transformed in Mikeshin into 'the working class ... long ago unravelled the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism' (see p. 52 of the book). A language without bones, and paper endures everything.

not knowing anything about the relation of the population and political parties to this Trotskyist anti-communist poison, we only see from the text of the article, that on these mass editions 'tons of paper' is expended. These words clearly understate the consumption of paper and indicate the author's poor acquaintance with publishing business.

We likewise learn that the 'capitalist ideologues [themselves] ... cannot refrain from reading his (Trotsky's) works'. From this information, by the way, with full obviousness follows one inference: not a single reader of Mikeshin's article subscribes to such conclusion of the author, which we find on page 52 of his article, that his information is 'evidence of the final collapse of Trotskyism – in ideas and organisation'. Here in our 'historian' the ends clearly do not meet. He began with a funeral tone about Trotskyism, but factually over the extension of his whole article sings to its health.

We are able to independently make a different inference, guided by the same information of the author. From all countries and nations of the contemporary world, capitalist and socialist, *the Soviet Union at present is the sole country and nation where the works of L.D. Trotsky continue for some unknown reasons to be under the strictest prohibition,* [*which was*] *established still in the Stalinist times. This is tantamount to the self-isolation of the Soviet Union from the whole contemporary political and cultural world*. Such a situation is all the more astounding, since we are heading to the fiftieth anniversary of the October revolution, in which the name L.D Trotsky, by any corrupt historian and even in the worst Stalinist times, was called alongside the name of V.I. Lenin.

In 1961 under the supervision, apparently, of Glavlit, there was published in Moscow a book – describing the personal library of V.I. Lenin in the Kremlin. This description, where out of respect to the memory of Lenin should be express with photographic accuracy the reproduction of the full list of titles of all books, which Vladimir Ilyich used, also did not escape the vigilant eye of Glavlit's control. All books of L.D. Trotsky where entirely excluded from it, and together with him suffered also other 'unreliable' authors, like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and others. Thus in the eyes of the workers of Glavlit to those *unreliables* also V.I. Lenin himself fares, who in life undoubtedly used similar 'forbidden' literature, which can be discovered at least by innumerable references to these authors in any collected works of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In addition to republications abroad in mass edition of these works of L.D. Trotsky we learn from the author, that over the last years there is noted a constantly growing interest in *the biography of Trotsky*. Over the last years it was published in three volumes beginning in English, then German and, evidently, in all other European languages. According to the author's words it found 'wide response' and

'enthusiastic' reviews of many of the biggest press organs, such as the English *Times*, the American *Time*, the West-German *Deutsch Zeitung* and others. All these newspapers are bourgeois and even reactionary publications, but again let us repeat our previous remark. These publications are read not only by the bourgeoisie, but also by the working population of all countries.

I forgot to mention that from the existing prohibition on Trotskyist literature in the USSR there was made one exception. I have in mind John Reed's book *Ten Days that Shook the World*. This book was published for the first time in 1919 in Russia[140] with an enthusiastic foreword by Lenin and Krupskaya, 'shamelessly' depicts on its pages as leaders and organisers of the October revolution Lenin and Trotsky. From Mikeshin's viewpoint such a book, if it were today republished abroad (it undoubtedly is republished there) would unconditionally be categorised as bourgeois falsification and imperialist propaganda, since it without any reservations raises *Trotsky together with Lenin* on the historical pedestal. But, perhaps, the author will be able to wriggle out of this vexing situation by reference to the point that John Reed's book was written in the fresh traces of October, but long before the emergence of such works of Trotsky as *Lessons of October* and *The Revolution Betrayed*, which in Mikeshin's words until now serves for bourgeois 'Sovietologists' as the standard for the study of the history of the CPSU's struggle for the overthrow of the autocracy and the capitalist system.

Due to the limits of human existence I am not going to spend time on acquaintance with all those foreign works, which are listed in Mikeshin. All this I consciously leave aside for the reason, that intending, for example, to go from Kharkov to Moscow, I have no need to choose my route through Khabarovsk, when there exists a straight highway.

As regards Mikeshin's reasoning on the essence of the question, his whole argumentation relating to Trotskyism and Trotsky is entirely taken from the literary scrap, which concentrated on the landfills of Stalinist anti-Trotskyist literature of the thirties and forties. He thought up nothing above that, and now there is hardly found a sportsman to accomplish the feat of viewing this whole trash epoch of the cult. This is such a full-time occupation, that I spared it on myself, the editorial board, and possible readers. I understand, that for years and decades the existing Stalinist cult succeeded to raise and maturate a whole generation of members of the Party, who from its history know only what was written in the *Short Course*. What is more, there are hundreds and thousands of professionals, who *earned themselves a*

[140] The book of John Reed with a preface of Lenin and Krupskaya appeared in 1919 in the United States, and in 1923 in Russia. Until 1923 it was republished twice. When political life in the USSR came under the Stalinist slant, these republication ceased. They were replaced by the *Short Course* – also the second edition.

scientific degree and title in anti-Trotskyist propaganda, who 'made their way', and it has become now for them a literary sinecure, since they have no other knowledge and competences. These cadre also constitute the main circle of people, for which the ruination of the Stalinist cult is at the same time also the ruination of their own career. They are also the suppliers of the corresponding production for those journals, which for lack of choice are forced to put out such works.

But there is a more important moment, motivating me to give some attention even to the article of Mikeshin. I, for example, could not pass by the following lines of his on page 47:

> Imperialist propaganda has shown particular activeness in the period when the critique of the personality of Stalin unfolded. It tried hard to make capital on this event, undertaking a new attempt to rehabilitate Trotskyism and defame the history of the CPSU's struggle against it. But these attempts did not and will never reach their goal. *The condemnation of the cult of personality of our Party does in no way signify a rehabilitation of anti-Leninist tendencies* (my emphasis – I.D.). The program of the CPSU considers it the merit of the Party that it defended Leninism in a sharp struggle against the Trotskyists, right-wing opportunists, national-deviators and other hostile groups.[141]

Here we arrive at the bottom of the matter! There is no need for great intellect/guessing to understand that precisely for the sake of this *central point* the ploy was started of the whole noise against bourgeois falsifiers and imperialist propaganda in connection with Trotskyism. This imperialist propaganda –on the one side, the Program of the CPSU on the other is mobilised by the author in order to reduce to zero all results of the bloody struggle and innumerable victims, which *the liquidation* cost the country and Party, and not only the 'critique', as Mikeshin writes, of the cult of personality of Stalin. A bit above we read in the author on the same page a careful preparation for the implementation of the restoration of this cult – the cherished goal of all its promoters and organisers without whose participation the cult of personality could never have arisen in our country, nor survive for thirty years.

Instead of a history of the Stalinist *crimes*, exposed by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Party Congresses, the full investigation of which, as, for example, the matter of Kirov's assassination, until now stopped halfway, the author of the article prefers to write about 'errors and shortcomings', born [from] the 'gradually formed cult of personality', about the

[141]Mikeshin

alien to socialism 'layers' of this cult. With the help of such evasive formulations there is made in our time an attempt to *restore* the cult of Stalin, at first literary, and then, if it succeeds, also politically and organisationally. For this precise goal is used the dense fog of 'Trotskyist *mythology*' with the counter-position of Trotsky to Lenin in the post-October days, a blessing that now there is nobody alive of those who were involved in the creation of this mythology.

Against these strivings, directed at *overturning* the line of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses, one cannot but raise a voice of the most categorical *protest*, one cannot but expose these, for now hidden dangerous games already under the first efforts to deploy it openly. The experience of the past decades, including the very last years, convincingly say that *recidivists* of the cult of personality occur only on that ground on which they already once emerged. This petty-bourgeois ground is *Bonapartism*, where in Marx's expression, 'the state rises above society'.

That which historically came to be connected with the concept of 'Trotskyism' in the time of the Stalinist bloody terror of the thirties and forties, which it was not from the aspect of a party-political statutory norm, in one undoubted relation represented a *party*: this was the 'Party of the executed', just as the 75 thousand French communists killed in the hands of the Gestapo in the time of the French 'Resistance' were the 'Party of the executed'.[142] They always were in the vanguard of proscriptive lists of the Special Council [of the NKVD], led the list of 'judicial' murders and were the first to go to the slaughter. Other 'turns' followed after them as the gloomy background of the general picture of that time. From this picture do not go away and it is impossible to hide.

Death knows no account of time, it levels off all ranks. But the *names* of the death of this party of the executed must be immortalised in the memory of the living generation *without a single exception*.

If in order to sanction this act of historical justice requires one or other amendment in some paragraph or point of the Program adopted at the Twenty-Second Party Congress, this will done by the Party at the Twenty-Third Congress. It is known that at the Tenth Party Congress Lenin declared, replying to Ryazanov, that no Party Congress in nothing can bind the will of the Congress following it.[143] I think, that it fully appropriate to recall these indications of Lenin now in the background of the gathering of the Twenty-Third Congress, although there

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[142][*Parti des fusillés*. The erroneous figure of 75,000 gained prominence also due to adversaries of the PCF who jumped on a statement made by Thorez that was obviously not based on official statistics. De Gaulle likewise advanced incorrect figures (*Les fusillés: répression et exécutions pendant l'occupation, 1940-1944*, Jean-Pierre Besse, Thomas Pouty 2006, Paris, p. 31).]

[143]Lenin

is no doubt that this Congress appears a continuation and strengthening of the line which was taken at the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Party Congresses.[144]

But for the Mikeshin's information let us in passing note that the announced crusade against bourgeois falsifiers of Party history should first of all wage the struggle with falsification *by clean hands*. In Mikeshin's hands is a *cold deck* [that is tampered cards]. On page 44 he provides a quote from Lenin' *Works* volume 41 page 14, where Lenin writes that 'Bolshevism grew from struggle against petty-bourgeois revolutionar'.[145] Our author uses this quote during a whole page for the exposure ... of Trotskyism. This – is a cold deck in two senses. Mikeshin *correctly* names both the volume and page in the evident calculation that not every reader will rummage in the fifty volumes of Lenin's Works for inquiry of the named pages. Indeed it would be tantamount to search in an unknown city for some house, knowing the house number, but not knowing the name of the street. But once the 'street' is found, one can be sure, that in the given case it is about the well-known brochure of Lenin *'Left-wing' Communism: an Infantile Disorder*. This brochure was written by Lenin in 1920, shortly before the Tenth Party Congress, but, 'as luck would have it', there is not a word, not a hint there either on Trotsky, or on Trotskyism. Evidently Mikeshin confused here in connection with the fact that the the Thirteenth Congress, like also the Thirteenth Party Conference christened the opposition of 1923–24 with the term 'petty-bourgeois deviation', and the author, superficially thinking, decided to put an equal sign between the resolution of the Thirteenth Congress and the brochure of Lenin. But these 'are two very different things' [idiom]. We call this place in Mikeshin *falsification no. 1*. There are also other falsifications. The author tells over pages of his article unimaginable fables about the inherent hostility of Trotsky and Trotskyism to the peasantry. In my articles one can find material on how both Lenin and Trotsky on the question of the relation to the peasantry were slandered by the editors of the fourth edition of Lenin's *Works*, hiding from the reader the well-known letter of Lenin 'Reply to a Peasant's Question', published in 1919 on the pages of *Pravda* No. 55 of 15 February at the same time as on the pages of *Izvestija* No. 28 of 7 February was printed Trotsky's letter to the middle peasants, also hidden or distorted.

On the question about the peasantry and the about the relation to the peasantry of Lenin and Trotsky there exists, besides the above-mentioned materials, in great abundance also other documentary material in the form of direct public statements of Lenin about the unity of his and Trotsky's position in this cardinal question of the socialist revolution. I will recall in

[144] [This Twenty-Third Party Congress was held in March–April 1966.]
[145]Lenin leftwing communism

particular the following word of Lenin from his speech at the closing of the Tenth Congress of 16 March 1921: '[W]e have had no disagreements on the relations between the vanguard of the proletariat and its mass, and the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry. [...W]e have been more united in our decisions on these points than ever before'.[146]

A year after this, speaking on 27 March 1922 at the Eleventh Party Congress, Lenin again emphasised, that '[t]he turn towards the New Economic Policy was decided on at the last Congress with exceptional unanimity, with even greater unanimity than other questions have been decided by our Party'.[147]

And a half year later, speaking on 15 November 1922 at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, Lenin again returns to the same question of *fundamental importance* and declares: 'In the spring of that year (1921) we decided unanimously—I did not observe any considerable disagreement among us on this question—to adopt the New Economic Policy'.[148]

Let us recall further, that Lenin considered it possible to recommend the means of resolution of this question in the USSR even for its application with corresponding modifications on an international scale.

How then can one create here fables and invent a 'disagreement of Lenin with Trotsky' on the peasant question? Is it not the most malignant falsification both of Lenin and Trotsky, plastered now on the pages of the journal under the 'heading' of struggle with 'bourgeois falsifiers'? If the editorial board's memory is so short in relation to the vents of that epoch, then perhaps, now it is worth to *refresh* it with one further reminder. I recommend the editorial board and the author to pay close attention to the speech of Lenin at the closing of the Tenth Party Congress 16 March 1921, particularly its part where Lenin reads a summary of Commissar of Foreign Affairs Chicherin on the question about that 'incredibly frenzied, hysterical campaign [that world capitalism has started] against us'.[149] There repeatedly in diverse versions was reported 'about the flight of Lenin and Trotsky [to the Crimea], about Trotsky shooting Lenin, and vice versa', and so on. All this was then connected with the Kronstadt events. Think in which category belong the malignant calumnies and lies now of all the gossip and myths as regards a disagreement between Lenin and Trotsky on the peasant question.

Of the other falsifications of Mikeshin practically important is still one moment, connection

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[146]Lenin 1921 vol 32
[147]Lenin 1922a vol 33
[148]Lenin 1922b, vol 33
[149]Lenin 1921 vol 32

with his slightly 'freestyle' translation of the content of the Program point about 'anti-Leninst tendencies'. This is how it sounds in Mikeshin: 'The Program considers the historical merit of the Party that defends Leninism in sharp struggle against Trotskyists, rightwing opportunists, national-deviators and other hostile groups'. Meanwhile in the Program is said that '*under the leadership of Lenin'* (my emphasis – I.D.) it – the Party – defended the plan of construction of socialism in the composition of three fundamental links: industrialisation of the country, cooperation of agriculture and cultural revolution. One cannot put, as the author does, an equal sign between the *leadership of Lenin* and what in the Stalinist time was given out for 'Leninism', if one takes the meaning of all resolutions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses, which called and urged to *return to Lenin* away from the cult of personality. Thus, far from everything that was slanderously called 'anti-Leninist tendencies' in the Stalinist time, was such in reality.

Mikeshin's eye was caught by the newspaper of P.N. Miljukov *Poslednie novosti* of 27 August 1926, when Miljukov was in Parisian exile. He is in a hurry to past in his article a quote from this newspaper in the quality as material – characterising the imperialist propaganda of the present day. He does not suspect that Miljukov was the *godfather* of the very concept 'Trotskyism' still in the epoch of the 1905–7 revolution and that the word was as honourable as the word Blanquism, with which Plekhanov scolded Lenin and his supporters at the Stockholm Party Congress: the 'Trotskyism' of Trotsky, just as the 'Blanquism' of Lenin themselves expressed the high point of the rise of the revolutionary wave of 1905, when the position of Lenin and Trotsky went very closely together and were counter-posed then to the party of Miljukov – the Cadets, just as in the time of the French 1848 revolution Blanqui embodied the party of extreme turnover – socialism, opposing the bourgeois 'party of order', from whose ranks came the organiser of the July massacre of the Parisian workers general Cavaignac.

The phrase 'continuous revolution' [*nepreryvnaja revoljutsija*], equivalent to the Marxist definition of 'permanent revolution', also in the present day acquired an abusive meaning in the connection with a mythical Trotskyism. But in 1905 this phrase stuck on the pages of the Bolshevik newspaper *Novaja zhizn'*, which was edited by Lenin, and is encountered also in the articles of Bolsheviks of 1905 – M. Olminsky,[150] A. Lunacharsky, V.V. Vorovsky and others, including also Lenin himself.

Proof of these statements is in excess in the *Collected Works* of Lenin, as well as in other

[150][Probably: «Движущие *силы и перспективы* русской резолюции». Изд. «Жиэнь», СПБ. 1907, гл. II. М. *Ольминский*]

materials of the Party and 1905 revolution. But we use for our goal only the *Protocols of the London Congress of the CPSU* published in 1962, to extract from it the following characteristic excerpts. Speaking at this Congress [for the] Bolsheviks Aleksinksy in his speech said that in *October-December* 1905 between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks there existed a chosen unity, and that even Martynov together with Trotsky proclaimed then course to permanent revolution. And Lenin of those days spoke about how the Bolsheviks differed from the Mensheviks only by the 'enthusiasms of Trotsky', which he shared and proclaimed almost in every of his articles. A little later, by the time of the Stockholm Congress, when took place the 'unification' Congress of political demarcation, he said that under the leadership of Plekhanov the Mensheviks became orientated to the Cadet Duma and to the liberal bourgeoisie, whereas the Bolsheviks put forward a *left-bloc* tactic of union of the proletariat with the peasantry. And at the London Congress both Lenin and Trotsky, not looking at the 'enthusiasms' of Trotsky, united on this left-bloc tactic, under the slogan of which the struggle went for the Second State Duma.

That is a short prelude to the history of the relationship of Miljukov with Trotsky at the stage of the first Russian revolution. The word 'Trotskyism' on the lips of Miljukov had the same abusive meaning, as the catchwords 'Leninists' and 'Leninism' on the lips of Plekhanov and the Mensheviks.

Ten years later, in 1917 the situation slightly changed. After the overthrow of the Tsar Miljukov in the Provisional government headed the ministry of foreign affairs and conducted his politics under the slogan of war to a victorious end in union with the 'allies'. As minister he in every way hindered the return of Trotsky from exile to Russia and only under pressure of the revolution and the demand of the Bolsheviks and Lenin was the arrested Trotsky allowed by the English government to leave England for Russia. Thus in those days Miljukov in fact acted counter to both Lenin and Trotsky who stood in the revolutionary ranks. Even later, in the Kronstadt days of 1921 we again meet with the figure Miljukov, when he together with Chernov and Martov put forward against the Bolsheviks and Lenin the banner of the Kronstadt uprising under the slogan 'Soviets without Bolsheviks'. At these stages of the political struggle we invariably meet with such combined forces, when Miljukov and Plekhanov as well as other supporters of the counter-revolution in 1917 were found on one side, and Lenin and Trotsky – on the other side of the October barricades. That situation was fully transparent.[151]

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[151]Being an opponent of Lenin in the October 1917 revolution, Plekhanov, however, until the end of his life – he died in 1918 – abstained from any active struggle against the revolution.
[Handwritten note:] A late remark (after sending the manuscript to Moscow): The Kronstadt slogan [or

Turning further a few pages of the revolutionary calender, we fall in the twenties of our century. The inner-Party struggle with the opposition. And here again we meet Miljukov. Mikeshin did not think of quoting the following words from Miljukov's *Poslednij novosti*, which depicted the opposition of that time as the most horrible enemy for Soviet power. This enemy, in the expression of the newspaper 'creeps imperceptibly to it', 'covers it with its tentacles from all sides and liquidates it before it can notice that it is liquidated'. About what does this quote attest? In 1926 Lenin already was not among the living. He was replaced, or more truly, *substituted* by Stalin, but history attests about the point that with the strengthening of the Stalinist regime and 'cult' the country over thirty years gradually was plunged into the abyss of its bloody consequences. In reality it happened so that *Miljukov's prophesy* was realised with astonishing accuracy. Soviet power, having emerged under the leadership of Lenin, in the epoch of the Stalinist cult in fact ceased to exist in its Leninist understanding. This is so undisputed, that nobody now nobody will decide to assert the opposite in the face of the decisions of the last Party Congresses. The difference consists only of the point that all these processes of slipping down happened not due to some countervailing forces against Soviet power of the opposition of Trotskyists and their associates, like Mikeshin seems to imagine this, but by the hand of the figures of the Stalinist cult and its supporters.[152]

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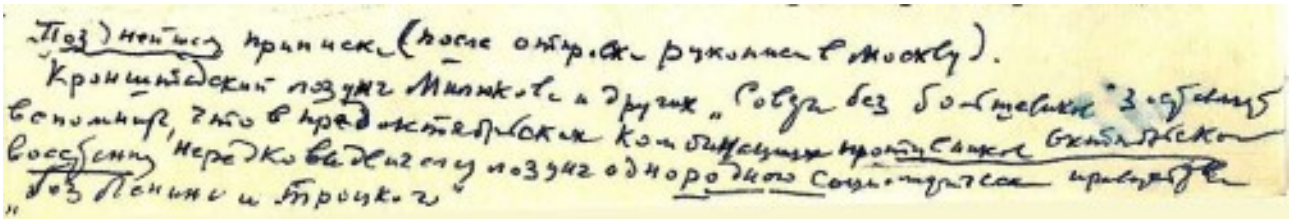
demand] of Miljukov and others of 'soviets without Bolsheviks' .., the Kronstadt com. party this .. this slogan has same content of '[soviets] without Lenin and Trotsky'. [We could not fully read the handwriting – Noa Rodman]



[152]In *Pravda* of 30 January 1966 No. 30 there was published in the bottom section an article of three authors – E. Zhykov, V. Truchanosky and V. Shukov – under the title 'The Great Responsibility of Historians'. In my view it contains alongside correct and even indisputable propositions in the first final part some unclear and 'algebraic' formulations and confusions. The authors dispute the legitimacy of the use of the term 'the period of the cult of personality'. As a scientific term, it is undoubtedly foreign to Marxism and even to the ordinary sense of correctness and should be discarded. About this I myself wrote in my articles. However the very existence of such a monstrous phenomenon in our recent reality is, unfortunately, a sad fact to which one cannot simply turn one's back and pretend not to notice it, or [pretend] as if it did not at at all exist.
My second remark relates to the understanding of the word 'historical truth' or truth in general. Together with the article's authors I too think that in class society there exists no non-party 'truth', nor a non-party relation to the truth of history. But from this viewpoint, for example, also the well-known formula of the late M.N. Pokrovsky would be unacceptable, about 'history as politics in the past', which would be only a science of amateur *factional chicanery in history*. Under all conditions the historian is obliged to write truthfully, not taking leave of the hard established facts and their interrelations and not to relate to truth itself 'as a Juncker'. Let us recall that Engels called 'Juncker-ish' such a treatment of the truth, which does not exclude violence against her, as noun of the feminine gender.
There is a precursor for Mikeshin's partly using a quote from the newspaper of Miljukov against 'Trotskyism'.

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Systematically tracking the content of the issues of the journal, I must express satisfaction with those materials for the multi-volume history of the CPSU, which were printed in Nos. 9, 10 and 11 of the journal last year and relate to the epoch of the first Russian revolution. The authors of these materials have an excellent knowledge of the subject and epoch along with a great orientation in Lenin's strategy and tactics of the epoch of the first Russian revolution. With the same satisfaction I could observe that the fundamental conclusions, concerning the activity of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies and the line of so called Trotskyism in it coincides in all substantive points with those 'critical notes' on this theme which are contained in my articles under the same title. The published materials introduce in literature and science a turnover of very many new and precious facts. They allow now with full obviousness to establish how many of the grossest distortions were introduced in the treatment of the history of the CPSU under the influence of the *Short Course*. This influence inflicted on the science of Party history no less severe damage than the damage suffered by the Soviet people and Party over the thirty years rule of the cult of personality.

In 1905 I was only fourteen years old, 'all of life's impressions offered me new thrills'[153] still, but nevertheless I can register that my short excursus in the history of this great epoch, given in my 'Critical notes' on the literary history comes to the same conclusions which were made by the authors of the prepared materials on the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies and about the relationship at the time between the leaders of this Soviet – Lenin and Trotsky. During my exposition, in particular in that part which relates to the works of A.G. Titov and N.P. Mikeshin, I by necessity had to in the most decisive way reject the conclusions to which the named authors came. All that 'literature' by no means reaches the level of literary and historical critique. In this connection one cannot fail to notice the conspicuous *qualitative* difference between the publications on the pages of the journal, which attests about the scrupulous use of all basic literary sources and Lenin's works, dedicated to the first Russian revolution and those 'opuses', which were and are written by the psalmists, but not historians in the materials of the post-October epoch, where their guider was the '*Short*

In 1925 in connection with my article 'On Inner-Party Themes' [which we have a scan of – *Noa Rodman*] Kaganovich reproached me for the point that I was cited in the Berlin newspaper of Miljukov *Rul'*, and in the Kharkov *Kommunist* my article gave cause to the editors to associate my intervention with the times of Catherine and her correspondence with the famous Diderot, who urged her to free the peasants from serfdom.

[153][From Pushkin's 'Demon'.]

Course'.

On previous pages I already had occasion to remark that proceeding from the experience of the implementation of the Program adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress one must not avoid the necessity to introduce in this program some substantive amendments *under preservation of its general correctness*. It cannot be doubted that the forthcoming Twenty-Third Party Congress will continue and strengthen the general path of development of the Party and construction of communism in out country, on which we have entered since the pivotal decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses. The Party Program adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress signified the largest historical milestone on this path. But every program is written not on a milestone and is corrected by experiences – by these higher criteria. I recall, for example, the fate of the first Leninist agrarian program of 1903, in which soon a large change was introduced.

To the number of such points relates the program's regulations of the CPSU on questions of ideology. It is formulated there, as upbringing 'a whole and graceful system of philosophical, economic and social-economic views in the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism' – the science 'about the most general laws of development of nature, society and human thought'.

On the ground of such a vague and foggy definition in our philosophical and natural-scientific literature a tendency attempts to strengthen its rule which is in open contradiction with everything that Marx, Engels and Lenin taught. Both in *Voprosi istorii KPSS*, and in *Voprosi filosofii*, under the flag of formal 'agreement' with the condemnation of the cult of personality and a bit too zealous hallelujah at the address of Marxism-Leninism, in fact occurs an *emasculation* of the main content of innumerable indications of Marx, Engels and Lenin about the *object* of philosophy equally as the relation of philosophy to Marxism and of science to philosophy. Until now one attempts to turn philosophy into some 'general science', controlling in its countenance all so called individual positive science, creating something of a privileged clergy in questions of ideology. More in detail I wrote on this question some two years ago in the journal *Voprosy filosofii*[154] and intend to bring this to mind again in the near future. But here I confine myself to a few words. The question is about the necessity to give a decisive rebuff to the philosophical *clerics*, who through all cracks and loopholes try to infiltrate onto the pages of our leading journals and revive the long past time of a 'philosophy of right' of history or '*Natur*-philosophy', very suitable for the construction

[154][In this journal there is no author named Dashkovsky, and the article-titles for the years 1963–64 provided no indication of such a critique of 'Marxist-Leninist' philosophy in the USSR.]

of all-possible new, newer and most new philosophical 'systems'.

This is by no means a vacuous question. Quite recently we were witnesses of how the obtrusive interference of philosophers in the course of development of such an important natural science as biology *stalled* the development with us [in the USSR] of genetics and its application, accompanied by inquisitional methods of reprisals against dissenters. In each of such science as biology, genetics, agronomy, medicine and so on the complex theoretical and applied knowledge has a list of victims, each of them met, mainly, in the person of 'philosophers' a stubborn obstacle on the path of scientific progress.

The list of victims, with which the path is strewn of struggle of science with its distorters on the biological front in the late forties and fifties after the sadly famous [August 1948] session of the VASKhNIL continues the martyrology of the thirties among workers of the *philosophical front* itself, following the 'historical' conversation of Stalin with the audience of the Institute of Red Professors in Moscow.[155] The extermination of cadre here and there on the fronts of science and philosophy was only an other expression of the politics, which simultaneously accompanied the extermination in courts and extra-judicially of the best political, military, economic and other Part cadre in the trials of those years.

In the *Istorii KPSS* we saw how the falsification of history often is masked as 'struggle with bourgeois falsifiers'. This same happens on the philosophical front, where open revision of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the *question about the object of philosophy* is hidden at every step behind sown assurances of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to which they are ready to beat endless obeisances, letting crouch through the rear gate the very rubbish of the personality cult, which they hypocritically condemn at the front door.

In front of me lies a book published in 1965 under the stamp of the Institute of Philosophy (Academy of Sciences USSR) with the comprehensive title *Marxist-Leninist Philosophy and Sociology in the USSR and European Socialist Countries*. This work has the pretension to 'coverage' of the whole history of development on the scale of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe over fifty years, although the subheading is modestly named 'Essays'. The compilers of these 'Essays' did not regret to [give] place to an name index, numbering by an approximate estimate about or above one and a half thousand different names and a list of their works. But in this huge list, which by itself attests about the excessive overproduction of philosophers and philosophical literature, there was found no place only for a single name – D.R. Rjazanov, *founder* of the Institute of Marx and Engels and tireless pathfinder, who did for the enrichment of Marxism by precious monuments of

[155][Stalin 1928, 'On the Grain Front' ?]

their literary inheritance incomparably more than tens and hundreds of the 'names', who fill the 'name index'.[156]

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Now I allow myself a few closing words and preliminary conclusions. Although my work did not appear over the past seven months on the pages of the journal and did not receive in it in general any visible reflection, decisively in all numbers of the journal, which had time to appear in the content of the there published articles and materials it is distinctly visible that my work was and is an object of the closest attention of both the authors of various articles and the editorial board itself. This is realised in the form of *polemic without address* against the formulation of the question which was given in my 'Reflections', the 'Afterword' to it and 'Critical Notes'.

But the matter was not limited to a polemical matter. As was already noted by me above, in a number of cases my considerations were taken into account in a positive sense, for example, in the materials on the first Russian revolution and on the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Even in such an article as the work of A.G. Titov, where my assessment was disputed of the inner-Party situation in the 1923–24 discussion, in fact very many of my remarks went into the material composition of that article. All this was done without indication and reference to my work.

However, this circumstance is of secondary interest for me. I can observe that on all decisive points my posited questions preserve their significance precisely in that form and meaning in which they were posited for discussion. Not a single word of these works of mine I take back. On the contrary, I consider myself [to have] the right with particular perseverance to add to them a few 'new' positions, which in essence are self-evident from the whole context of my works. I confine myself to list them as points.

1. The necessity to end the 'historical' mythology on Trotskyism, to finish with these named myths of maiming consciousness of maiming cult of personality of Party generation.

2. For the indicated goal the most radical means would be the publication of a special collection under the name 'V.I. Lenin on L.D. Trotsky'. This collection must include in

[156]To the number of such absurdities relates, for example, also such facts that until now there is no *loudly proclaimed* annulment of the 'judicial' processes on 'enemies of the people' of the 1930s-1940s and that precisely the biggest figures of the Party and revolution, are not included in the lists of the 'sinless', [referred to] until now with great apprehension and caution ... , and this [is the case still] ten years after the Twentieth Party Congress [1956]!

chronological order without any deletions and self-made additions all utterances of Lenin on Trotsky *for the period of the stay of Trotsky in the Party* on the basis of materials published in the *Complete Collected Works of V.I. Lenin fifth edition*. This material decisively cuts the root of any mythology and will present the more authentic sayings of Leninism on 'Trotskysim' by such primary sources, which cannot become object of any rumours, falsifications and forgeries.

3. With the same goals I propose to allow the free circulation and republication of all works of L.D. Trotsky, which often were published and republished as separate publications, as well as in the form of a collected works of L.D. Trotsky [published by] the State publishing house, and likewise the publishing house of the C.C. of the CPSU and Comintern during the life of Lenin and Trotsky. Many of them were published and republished in the same order even after the death of V.I. Lenin, when Trotsky remained a member of the Politburo of the C.C. of the CPSU and was in the ranks of the Party.

4. I propose to liquidate the ridiculous 'two-tier accounting', adopted in relation to the so called rehabilitation of victims of the Stalinist regime and cult, which is expressed in the existence of two categories of lists: the category icon-painted portraits, vividly written without a single speck from their political biography and the other category of 'anti-Leninist elements', which are depicted exclusively without any light. This system does not serve anything, except to discredit the very idea of restoration of the *genuine* historical names of each indicated and named list of dead communists.

It is understood, these propositions do not exhaust all the conclusions that accumulate with me to the extent of the continuation forward in my work. But in any case they clearly come forward, as self-evident consequence of my already elaborated material.

As regards in general the question on falsification, the historians of the Party disarm themselves in the struggle against class enemies and bourgeois falsifiers, insofar as they until now have not properly dealt with the innumerable falsifications, which on each step can be noted in the existing textbooks, fundamentally repeating the 'idea' of the *Short Course of History of the CPSU* [1938].

Item Five

Correspondence between Prof. I. Dashkovsky and radio commentator B. Stepanov[157]

27 February 1967,
To the editors of *Pravda*

On February 24th of this year, between 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening, I was listening to *part* of a radio broadcast from Moscow in my apartment. The broadcast was of a speech by journalist Boris Stepanov on a topic from a series of talks on Lenin called "Eternally Alive," in which the history of the pre-October events and the intra-party struggle on the eve of the uprising, in particular, the events of the *July days of 1917 in Petrograd*, was recounted, or rather, read out in rapid succession. What was reported in the talk about the situation in which the 5th Party Congress was convened during the period when Lenin was underground could not have given rise to any particular comments. But I simply could not believe my ears when I clearly heard a mention of "Trotskyists," "Trotskyism," and L. D. Trotsky himself, as an opponent of Lenin and the Bolsheviks during the July days. This wild nonsense immediately revealed to me the *bottomless ignorance* of the "lecturer" Stepanov in the matters which he had undertaken to elucidate for radio listeners.

As a "short signal" where quick-acting protective means of combating ignorance are required, I ask the editors of Pravda, together with the previous lines of my letter, to publish for the information of Boris Stepanov and other radio propagandists like him the following lines from V. I. Lenin's speech on October 8, 1917, at the St. Petersburg Party Conference on the question of nominating candidates for the Constituent Assembly. These lines can be found on page 345 of Volume 34 of Lenin's Complete Works:

> No one would contest the candidature of, say, Trotsky, for, first, upon his arrival, Trotsky at once took up an internationalist stand; second, he worked among the mezhraiontsi for a merger; third, *in the difficult July days he proved himself equal to the task and a loyal supporter of the party of the revolutionary proletariat* (underlined by me. I. D.).[158]

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[157]From Medvedev's *Political Diary* No. 33 (June 1967). Translated from pp. 257–59, 260–62 in *Political Diary (1964–1970)*, Volume One [only 11 of the 75 issues], 1972, Amsterdam: The Alexander Herzen Foundation. We have not accessed Volume Two [only 8 issues], 1975.
[158]https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/oct/04b.htm

Of course, these words of Lenin do not mean that there were never any differences between him and Trotsky. But everyone knows that all these differences were, in the main, extinguished by the fact of L. D. Trotsky's participation together with V. I. Lenin in the October Revolution and the October uprising. The so-called "Trotskyism" was put an end to immediately after the return of V. I. Lenin and L. D. Trotsky from emigration in 1917, between April and June.

I. Dashkovsky

Added by hand: A similar case, and even worse, was noted by me in Kharkov, not on the radio broadcast from Moscow, but on Kharkov television, on the basis of the speech of veterans of the Kharkov Komsomol with dubious "memories" about how the Komsomol was started in the city in 1922. Information about this can be obtained from the Kharkov City Committee of the Komsomol (Comrade Dibarchuk) and the Regional Party Committee (Comrade Sklyarov)

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14 March 1967
Committee on Radio and Television under the Council of Ministers of the USSR
Chief of Editorial Board of Propaganda, Moscow

Dear Comrade Professor Dashkovsky!
Your letter was given to me. I read it several times with all attention... I looked through the text of my speech again and again. And, frankly, I cannot understand your claims. You write that I "in the crudest way distorted the true course of events" (meaning the period from July to October 1917) and that, as you put it, "obviously, completely ignorant of the situation of the July days of 1917", called Trotskyism an anti-Leninist trend, but in your opinion it was not such at that time.
First of all, I will quote the text from my speech. At the 6th Congress, "taking advantage of the absence of the leader, the Trotskyists and other renegades from the general line of the party tried to push through the idea of the impossibility of the victory of socialism in Russia before the proletarian revolution in Western Europe." The validity of this idea is confirmed by the minutes of the 6th Party Congress, which, living in Kharkov, you have every opportunity to

familiarize yourself with. This is also stated in the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." As for the definition of Trotskyism as an anti-Bolshevik trend, it was repeatedly expressed by V. I. Lenin and long before the Great October.
If I have misunderstood you, then I ask you to express your complaints more clearly. Thank you for your attention to our broadcasts.

With comradely greetings
Commentator of the All-Union Radio
– Stepanov.

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22 March 1967
Dear comrade Stepanov!
In response to your request to more clearly express my "complaints" regarding the radio broadcast of February 24 of this year, I am sending you a copy of my second letter on the same issue, sent by me to the editorial office of *Pravda* two days after the letter that is in your hands and which was written by me by hand without keeping a copy for myself.
It is safe to say that you and I are people of different generations. In your article, as well as in the materials of your speech, you use *literary* sources about the events of 1917. I know these events from the experience of personal participation in them, when I worked as a Bolshevik agitator and propagandist on the territory of the Southwestern Front in Kerensky's armies. It is not your fault, of course, that you did not live to see the October Revolution in the days of its preparation and completion. On the plus side, you have an enormous advantage over me in age.
Your mistake is that you did not prepare any material for your speech to a radio audience, where you can always come across *living participants in the events* of that time, and your letter to me reveals even more clearly the fundamental flaw in your speech of February 24 of this year, which I could then only partially listen to: complete ignorance of the facts of history. You confused the events of the July days of 1917, when the party was underground and subjected to the most violent persecution, with the era of the 1920s and early 1930s of this century, characterised by internal party discussions, when the party had already been in power for many years. All these labels and epithets that you use in your letter, starting with such words as "renegades", "anti-Leninist currents", "Trotskyism", "pushing through ideas on the question of building socialism", etc., etc., are all taken from the arsenal of the era of

the personality cult. For you, obviously, not only the long-past events of the revolution itself and the socialist construction of the first years after October, but, for example, the decisions of the 20th Party Congress [1956], as well as the 22nd and 23rd, represent some kind of prehistoric past. Hence, it is clear that we cannot find a common language on this issue. To simplify matters and shorten the letter, I will simply point out to you the *exact lines* of Lenin's theses, written in August 1917, on candidates for elections to the Constituent Assembly, quoted in my letter to *Pravda*. Read them carefully, check their text against the complete works of Lenin indicated there. Everything that Lenin expressed then in his theses on Trotsky's position in 1917 has retained its meaning to this day without any changes. Moreover: from the July days to the end of his life, Lenin did not change anything in his relations with L. D. Trotsky throughout all the years of the revolution, even during episodic disagreements with him, and you will not find the word "Trotskyism" anywhere in Lenin after the July days. It was used by him only once during his speech with the April theses.

It is absolutely clear that in your ideas everything is completely confused in your head, you are using language from a completely different opera. Regarding the July days, you have the most distorted ideas. In those days, the Kornilov rebellion was still looming ahead, and there were still such tendencies in the party as Kamenev and Zinoviev's flirtation with the pre-parliament, this institution, which Lenin called from underground at that time "a society of public men", there was not yet a constituent assembly, which later had to be dispersed after the inauguration of the armed forces of Soviet power. Everything was still ahead, and you talk about the general line of the party and use terminology that could not have been in use at that time. The general line at that time, after Lenin's April theses, was expressed in two words: preparation for an uprising. And in this preparation, Lenin and Trotsky invariably acted hand in hand against dubious friends who turned out to be strikebreakers of October and supporters of a homogeneous government of all socialist parties, including the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries.

I limit myself to these brief instructions and hope that you will be able to correct your mistakes in these matters if you *conscientiously* study the necessary materials. Of these, the foundation of foundations: Lenin's speeches and party congresses during the years of the revolution during Lenin's life, from the 6th to the 12th inclusive.

With respect (I. Dashkovsky)

Enclosed: a copy of my letter to the editors of *Pravda* dated 27-2-1967.

Item Six

Political Self-Account to the Twenty-Fourth Party Congress: Instead of an Appeal (1971)[159]

(Kharkov, March 1971)

I address the Party Congress in the eighty-first year of my life exactly fifty-four years from the date of joining its ranks. For forty-four years I am found outside of the Party, of them about thirty years under continuous repression. Since 1956 I am an old-age pensioner. Rehabilitated by the judicial authorities in 1956 on all charges. (...) I am engaged in literary activity over the last twelve to fourteen years. About this I will speak later.

My appeals, beginning with the Sixteenth Party Congress (1930) up to the Twenty-Third Congress (1966) inclusive, contain the details of my personal case, which are intertwined with the history of the Party and the revolution. They contain a lot of mistakes, which, as far as possible, were later corrected or refined. But I did not take back a single of my appeals and they all remained in the archives of the Central Committee and Partcontrol [the former CCC]. I am not going to go over them here.

However, there is a direct need to turn to the canonised history of the CPSU, published over decades in millions of copies, where each new edition overrides the results of the preceding ones. The one-volume works of the history of the CPSU of 1962 and 1970, or the first and last issues of the incomplete 'six-volume work' of 1964 and 1970 to the same degree can serve as examples.

This situation prompted me already in 1965 to declare my intention to start mining and preparing construction material for a future critical history of the CPSU, which had not yet been written by anyone. Something I then managed to do. So I produced three essays, entitled 'On Problems of the History of the CPSU after Lenin' and an open letter to the editorial board of *Voprosy istorii KPSS* under the title 'History of the CPSU at the Crossroads'. These manuscripts did not return to me and were preserved in the editorial

[159]This translation is based on a version published in Semenenko 1991, pp. 208–13. The dots in round brackets indicate minor passages that Semenenko left out from the original. Semenenko, Valerij Ivanovich 1991, *V trudnych poiskach istiny: po stranitsam sovetskoj i zarubezhnoj literatury o L.D. Trotskom i "trotskizme"* [In the Difficult Search for Truth: on Pages of Soviet and Foreign Literature about L.D. Trotsky and "Trotskyism"], Kharkov: Izd-vo "Osnova" pri Khar'kovskom gosudarstvennom universitete. For an English review, see on marxists.org Ludwik Hass, 'Breaking With the Old Version of the History of the CPSU and the USSR', *Revolutionary History*, 6, 1 (1995/96): 142–51 (originally in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 1, 1993).

office of the journal or in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

But the 'construction material', seeking public discussion, continues to be collected and will be collected, moreover not only by me alone. The direct duty of the generation of surviving participants of the February and October revolution of 1917, the civil war, the first years of socialist construction under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and his closest associates, – is with all remaining energy to reconstruct this unique history, instead of resting on our laurels in all regalia. It is shameful for veterans to entrust this honourable cause to those who are like Krylov's geese [in the 1811 fable], whose ancestors saved Rome.[160] Of them not a few are such 'geese', which instead of a 'long rod' should have been honoured with a short club.

Personally these occupations 'converted' me from an economist by academic title, who retains the previous interest in economic issues, into a historian-publicist. It is not a secret to anyone that none of my works on questions of history enter into the printed press, which in 1918–29 very willingly gave a place to my economic works, including those that were placed under my pseudonyms A.S. or A. Svetlov in such publications as the journals *Under the Banner of Marxism*, *Planned Economy* [*Planovoe chozjajstvo*], *Economy of Ukraine* [*Chozjajstvo Ukrainy*], and others, not counting newspapers. A detailed list of these works I received back in 1956 from the Lenin [State] Library in Moscow, as well as in various archives and book depositories.

I intend here briefly to inform the Congress of the most important results of my searches of the last triennium (1968–70). (...)

I

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[160]Of course, being a contemporary and even a participant in historical affairs is not enough to reproduce them in a memoir genre. At least three other conditions are needed: 1. Literary abilities; 2. Good faith; 3. Tact. None of them can replace the other.

The guiding principle in this work should be Ilyich's words: in politics '[o]nly a hopeless idiot will believe oral statements'.

As examples 'from the opposite' can serve the in 1970 published *Thoughts and Memories on Lenin* of A. Mikoyan and the in *Pravda* of 7 March 1971 printed 'Triumph of Leninist Principles' of Tatjana Ljudvinskaja [1887–1976]. Both these authors, no doubt, are veterans, participants of the Tenth Party Congress in 1921. For all the rest there is nothing in common between them, especially with regard to Party traditions and political past. It is entirely possible that at the Tenth Congress they really met Lenin and talked with him at the meetings of delegates during the Congress itself or at separate meetings. The bad thing is that about all this the reader has only their one-sided story, not confirmed by any documentary sources.

This – is literary improvisation, reminiscent of Gogol's famous story of Khlestakov [in *The Inspector-General*], who was 'on an intimate footing with Pushkin'. In Lenin in all fifty-five volumes of his works, including the ten volumes of letters and of reference information to all volumes, there is mention neither of Mikoyan, nor of Ludvinskaja, nor of the encounters and meetings about which they both write. This is as an authentic fact as that Pushkin was not on an intimate footing with Khlestakov, although he had suggested the plot of *The Inspector-General* to Gogol.

On [the Central Committee's] *Theses for the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of V.I. Lenin*

This most important historical document of the 1970 jubilee went down in history mutilated forever![161] Lenin's thoughts and statements ... are manipulated and replaced in one of the most important places by the ideas ... of Otto Bauer from his 1920 pamphlet [*Bolshewismus oder Sozialdemokratie?*] against Lenin and Bolshevism. I reported this in detail through separate letters to the editors of *Pravda* and *Kommunist* and to the propaganda department of the Central Committee.[162] Through the channels of inner-Party information (through the Kharkov Regional Committee) I was informed that the letters had been received, the errors indeed occurred and the perpetrators were punished. The correction of the 'errors' consisted in superficially mending the disfigured places, worse than the falsification itself of the text. In this form the 'Theses' proceeded as if nothing happened of treatment in the network of propaganda and Party education, in order not to 'muddy the waters' and to 'keep it in the family'. But even earlier, in the same year 1969, the editorial board of *Kommunist* in the third issue of the journal obligingly gave place to a collective article under the shouting – 'champion shouter'[163] – title 'For Leninist Partyism in Illumination of the History of the CPSU'. In this article-manifesto 'Leninist partyism' could fully rival the theses of Otto Bauer, [with] which in December 1969 the propaganda of Leninism was conducted on the pages of *Pravda*, *Kommunist* and other central publications.

A critical analysis of this precocious manifesto was the main subject of my response-article 'Marxism-Leninism and the Truth of History', which I sent to the journal with the request to place it 'in order of discussion'.

II

My trip to Moscow and the conversation in the editorial office of *Kommunist* in June 1970 clearly showed that under a camouflage ... was hiding indeed the knot of the 'intricate affair' of F.F. Raskolnikov.[164] It was the main target of literary bombardment, and my phrase on

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[161] Published in December 1969 (*Pravda*), Later a brochure: *K 100-letiju so dnja rozhdenija Vladimira Ilyicha Lenina: Tezisy TsK KPSS*, [63 pp.] 1970, Moscow: Politizdat.

[162][See our translation of this letter below (item seven).]

[163][This is how Lenin once called the Democratic Centralist faction. 'The Party Crisis' 1921, CW volume 32]

[164][Fyodor Fyodorovich Raskolnikov (1892–1939). 'Raskolnikov's "Open Letter to Stalin" dated 17 August 1939 was first published in the Paris émigré newspaper *Novaya Rossya* of October 1, 1939. According to Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, (p.257), in 1964 the author's widow, a resident of France, brought the original of

'lovers of opposing Leninism to Trotskyism' served the editorial board as a sort of false demonstration and diplomatic manoeuvre.

On my question to editorial board member V.V. Platkovsky, whether he knows of the [1963] resolution of the Central Committee on the posthumous rehabilitation of Raskolnikov, a short reply followed quickly: 'I do not know, I have not read it'. This was in mid-1970. And from the Lenin [State] Library – reference department – I was sent in Kharkov such a reply, dated 31 July 1970 for No. 23/2331: 'We do not have any information about the publication of the Resolution on the rehabilitation of F. F. Raskolnikov. The works of F.F. Raskolnikov are available in the collections of the Library and are reflected in its catalogues'.

It is not the first time that in the course of my historical-critical research I come across the necessity of combining these studies with the functions of an investigator and even of a tracker. Quite recently these specific methods were useful to me in connection with the preparation of the work 'Engels on the Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom'.[165] There it was necessary to recreate the situation in 1934–41 within the Central Committee and its Politburo – [given that] in these years the so-called 'famous letter' of Stalin about this [1890] article of Engels from the Politburo or the Secretariat of the Central Committee to the editorial board of [the C.C.'s journal] *Bolshevik* was making its seven-year journey.[166] I had then to mobilise around this extraordinary incident a whole arsenal of auxiliary tools, to request the reference department of the Lenin Library, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, rummage in series of magazines, and so on. The case was also not without confusion, brought by the IMEL apparatus, which made a mistake by a whole year (1935 instead of 1934) in the determination of the compilation date of the 'famous letter'...

I had an equally intricate task of unravelling the tight knots, finding 'ends and beginnings' this time in the affair of F.F. Raskolnikov, unravelling the dark riddle of the disappearance of the Central Committee's decision with his posthumous rehabilitation and an even darker campaign of posthumous denigration of his name and activities, which followed the rehabilitation.

A whole world is reflected in a drop of water. The tragic and at the same time heroic destiny of F.F. Raskolnikov and his 'affair' requires the attention of the Congress no less than all the questions of foreign and domestic policy taken together. This – is in the full sense of the word the 'Dreyfus Affair' of our time...

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the letter to Moscow. It circulated widely through samizdat channels in the mid-1960s'. Note of the translator Brian Pearce on marxists.org.]

[165][This is apparently another article of Dashkovsky that has never been published.]

[166]Stalin vol 14,1934 'On an Article by Engels'. [Stalin's 1934 letter was first published in *Bolshevik* in 1941.]

III

Two circumstances have come to my aid in this case. First about one of them. On the pages [116–22] in No. 9 of 1964 of the *Military-Historical Journal* [*Voenno-istoricheskij zhurnal*] of the USSR Ministry of Defence under the editorial heading 'In Defence of a Good Name' [*V zaschitu dobrogo imeni*] was printed the correspondence of member of the Revolutionary Military Council and Admiral of the Baltic Fleet V.M. Grishanov [1911–94] with former naval communications officer, retired Colonel K.G. Rjanni. Neither the person, nor the track record of this 'member of the Party since 1919' represent any interest now.[167] The retired colonel after the publication of this correspondence did not appear on the pages of the press. Another matter – is the 'Reply' of Admiral V.M. Grishanov, who armed with facts and archival documents over seven pages, one by one, analysed all six 'charges' of the retired colonel at the address of F.F. Raskolnikov and exposed their ignorantly malicious and slanderous character. In passing it became known that the slanderer also earlier (in 1963) had tried to attach in the military publishing house his 'Memoirs' of the same character, but they refused to accept them for publication.

Admiral Grishanov wrote to K.G. Rjanni: 'Your letter ... puts forward such questions, the open analysis of which should interest a wider circle of people'. But this was not in the interests of the editorial board of *Kommunist* in 1969. The editorial board was preparing an artillery attack, which was mentioned above. As for the authors of the 'manifesto' 'For Leninist Partisanship' [*Za Leninskuju partijnost'*], they too from all the correspondence on the Raskolnikov case in 1964 adopted not at all the benign materials that were used in great abundance in the reply of the Admiral to protect the good name of Raskolnikov. They picked up the malicious gossip and mean slander of the 'member of the Party from 1919', as a poisoned weapon of attack on the posthumously rehabilitated hero of the revolution and civil war. The 'Reply' of Admiral Grishanov clearly showed that this 'communication officer' was unable to connect the ends in his attacks on the late hero, confusing events in the Baltic, separated by months of interruption, building his 'accusations' on materials that had absolutely nothing to do with the case, since Raskolnikov in those years or days was not at all in Kronstadt and not in the Baltic, but on the Kama, in the Caspian and in Moscow.

The answer of V.M. Grishanov was for me a precious find. Everyone who is searching for the

[167][Karl Gustavovich Rjanni (1894–1994), was Lenin's telegraphist in October 1917.]

truth of history should read it.

In 1964 I was distracted by other occupations and the 'affair of Raskolnikov' had not yet been in my field of vision, although, of course, his name and activities were well known to me. Personally I have never met Raskolnikov, but in the same years we conducted political and military struggle and work under the same banner. We were united by the goals of the struggle and even belonged to one and the same group of supporters of L.D. Trotsky at the Tenth Party Congress, but always shared enormous distances. The material for my article for the journal *Kommunist* I collected using the book from the literary heritage of Raskolnikov, published posthumously in 1964, where in the annotation of Grebelskij and in the preface of V.S. Zaitsev I found important details of the 'affair'.[168] In other respects the volumes of the fifth edition of the *Works* of V.I. Lenin helped me. (...)

IV

There rests for me in a few words to touch on the notorious bogey – 'Trotskyism'. For several decades now it has played the role of 'literary chewing gum' in our press and fills a vacuum in the cranium of propagandists of 'Leninist partyism'.

My manuscripts are heavily devoted to the exposure of this empty and deceitful chatter and contain more than enough documentary material, which frees me here from the need to enter into any kind of polemical 'military action' against this mythology.

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But there are reasons now to make adjustments to the canonised literature of the 'Leniniani'[169], where Gorky's *Days with Lenin* won a completely undeserved strong reputation.

I twice already used these memoirs in my polemical journalism. They are particularly abused where it concerns the personal relationship between Lenin and Trotsky. The last time about this is described in detail in my articles included in the collection (manuscripts) *Soviet Historiography and the October Revolution*, especially in the third article of this collection under the title '"The Lessons of the Struggle [of the Leninist Party against Trotskyism]" of P.N. Pospelov'.

P.N. Pospelov[170] used for his needs the following two lines from M. Gorky's memoirs

[168]F.F. Raskolnikov 1964, *Na boevych postach*, edited by Z.V. Grebels'kij, Moscow: Voenizdat.
[169][From *Leniniana*, the name for art and literature dedicated to Lenin.]
[170][Pospelov's article (Уроки борьбы ленинской партии против троцкизма. *Voprosy istorii KPSS* 1966, No.

[allegedly said by Lenin about Trotsky]:

'And yet he isn't one of us. With us, but not of us. He is ambitious. There is something of [...][171] Lassalle in him, something which isn't good'.[172]

These are precisely the notes which are missing in the original text of Gorsky's article 'Vladimir Lenin', printed in *Russkij sovremennik* No. 1 of 1924, p. 241. One cannot leave out now that not to Pospelov, but to Maksim Gorky is owned the 'honour' of creating this 'man-made' legend, when he began to adapt his memories to the social order of the servants of the personality cult, and, perhaps, also to Stalin himself: in fact Gorky already was not alive, when his memoirs were reprinted and 'combed'.

I have already shown in the article '"The Lessons of the Struggle" of P.N. Pospelov' how the images of Lenin, Trotsky, Lassalle and Gorky were deceptively distorted with the help of the two incomplete lines. We must now make an amendment in relation to M. Gorky. His political reputation was quite good and well-known also earlier, even if we leave aside Gorky's pre-revolutionary vacillations in the direction of God-building and God-seeking of the period of reaction of 1908–11. Suffice it to recall the position of M. Gorky at the beginning of the imperialist war of 1914. Lenin wrote about it in his article 'To the author of *The Song of the Falcon*': 'Every class-conscious worker will feel a pang when he sees Gorky's signature alongside that of P. Struve under the chauvinistic-clerical protest against German barbarity'.[173]

Suffice it to recall the behaviour of M. Gorky in the October days of 1917, when he was whining in the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, acting in alliance with the all conciliatory philistinism, about the adventurism of the Bolsheviks and Lenin, who raised the banner of the uprising against Kerensky and the Provisional Government. At this time, Maxim Gorky, paraphrasing his own memories, was not only not with us, but was definitely against Lenin and against the Party, on the side of the strikebreakers of October Zinoviev and Kamenev, with whom he then solidarised, as Stalin himself did, working in this time as editor of *Rabochij put'*.

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Since the Fifteenth Party Congress forty-four years have passed. Not the 'river of oblivion' [the *Lethe* in Greek mythology], but the rivers of blood and mountains of corpses separate us

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3), apparently reprinted in 1969. Pyotr Pospelov (1898–1979) was a long time member of the C.C., one of the authors of the *Short Course*, also the chief editor of the six volume history of the CPSU.]

[171][These dots are in the Russian text, perhaps just mean to indicate a pause in Lenin's speaking.]

[172]Gorky 1932, p. 57. London: Martin Lawrence.

[173] Lenin 1914, p. 344. vol 41

now from the very date of its convocation.

It is known that within the 'opposition bloc' in 1927 there were two factions with independent platforms: [that of] the '83' and '15'. Except myself I now cannot definitely say who of the signatories of either platform has survived since then. Not only the participants of these two opposition groups in the ranks of the Party, but also the overwhelming majority of the members of the commission of 65 people, who decided the fate of the opposition at the Congress, have not escaped this extermination of cadres, which now is called 'costs'. These two words 'extermination of cadres' do not belong to me. They were uttered at the 23rd meeting of the Twenty-Second Party Congress by I.V. Spiridonov, who represented the Leningrad Party organisation. In the same spirit at the Congress representatives of other delegations – Moscow, Ukraine, Georgia and others – spoke, when the Twenty-Second Congress decided to remove Stalin's coffin from the Mausoleum. All these speeches are stenographed, and no river of oblivion can wash them away, even if new rivers of blood would be spilled for the glory of whomever's attempts to galvanise the cult and restore the terrorist system of management and leadership.

Item Seven

Letter on *Theses for the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of V.I. Lenin* (1970)[174]

To the propaganda department of the C.C. of the CPSU (Moscow),
to the editorial board of the newspaper *Pravda,*
to the journal *Kommunist*
(5 February 1970)

The Central Committee's 'Theses for the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of V.I. Lenin' published on 23 December of last year served for me as occasion [on] 25 January of the present year to make the following remarks to these Theses when sending my work 'Notes of a Publicist' to the publishing house *Pravda*:[175]

1. The Theses are incredibly bulky – 13,000 words!
2. No foreigner, as Lenin said at the Fourth Comintern Congress in late 1922, can read such kind of documents.[176]
3. The Soviet people have for such objective neither the leisure, nor the background, to assimilate in a short term such a printed production.

Instead of the fifty-five volumes of the complete edition [of Lenin's works], I suggested for the commemoration of Lenin and the propaganda of Leninism to expand the printing by several times of *separate* works and letters of Lenin in order to create for workers, kolkhozniks and intelligentsia a tabletop library, giving particular attention to those works of Vladimir Ilyich which for more than half a century did not appear in print or were kept in hiding.

But positively nobody could at that moment imagine, that the published Theses already contained in them a *monstrous lie*, instead of the propaganda of the ideas of Lenin worthy of mention on the hundred anniversary of his birth.

On page three of the newspaper *Pravda* of 23 December last year, section three, line 14 such a paragraph was printed:

> In the sketch of the report on the international situation and the fundamental tasks of

[174]Source: Russian State Archive of Social-Political History, f. 599, op. 1, d. 385, pp. 60–64. Thanks go to Tony Wood.
[175][Apparently 'Notes of a Publicist' is a separate and thus another one of Dashkovsky's unpublished works.]
[176]Lenin 1922 (Riddell 2011, p. 304 *Toward the United Front: Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, 1922*)

> the Communist International Lenin noted five 'social factors of force' of the working class; number; the degree of organisation; the place held in the process of production and distribution; activity; education. Since the time Lenin expressed this thought the number of the working class dramatically increased, an immense growth of its organisation and politically activity, of its general education and professional training occurred.

In volume 41 of the PSS [collected works], where the materials are placed of the speeches of Lenin at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920, there is no trace of such 'sketches', attributed to Lenin. Here is what Lenin said at the first meeting of the Comintern Congress on 19 July 1920:

> A German variety of philistinism is required, and you get the “theory” that the “social factors of force” are: number; the degree of organisation; the place held in the process of production and distribution; activity and education[177]

He addressed this 'compliment' at Otto Bauer, author of the 1920 German-language *book against Bolshevism – Bolshevismus oder Sozialdemokratie*. The details one can find on pages 229–32 of the mentioned volume.
It is highly likely that the composers of this Thesis in [their] spiritual simplicity, which is worse than thievery,[178] took *serious* the textbook *humoristic* remark of Lenin at the Congress that for this single sentence about 'social factors of force' 'we would put up a monument to him [Otto Bauer] in his lifetime' and that 'Bauer's book will be a useful if peculiar supplement to the textbooks on communism'.
It is known that Otto Bauer, as well as Karl Kautsky in a distant past were leaders of the Second International and strong Marxists. Lenin and the Bolsheviks borrowed then quite a few good ideas of these leaders – from Kautsky in the agrarian question, from Bauer in the national question. But already at the time of the October revolution and in 1920 in the civil war these leaders stood on the other side of the barricade.
He who in the year 1969 or in the jubilee year 1970 gives the *Menshevik* formula of Otto Bauer out for the expression of the idea of Leninism, deserves now, like Bauer himself in the words of Lenin at the Congress, 'a monument to him in his lifetime' to their ignorance for

[177]Lenin 1920, vol 31
[178][Russian saying. The fools do more hurt in this world than rascals.]

such a treatment of Leninism, which was born not with the day of Vladimir Ilyich's birth, but concentrated in his literary legacy.

In the resolution of the Fifteenth Conference of the VKP(b) in 1926 there was written about the opposition bloc: 'The views of Trotsky and his co-thinkers closely approach the views of Social Democracy in the person of its current leader, Otto Bauer'. The whole theory about a 'Social-Democratic deviation' of the opposition of those years hung on such a 'nail'.[179] Lenin characterised the Social-Democratic theory of Bauer in 1920 with the same words [that] Trotsky addressed against him at the Fifteenth Party Conference of 1926: in Lenin these [words] were 'German variety of philistinism', 'banality and defence of the exploiters', in Trotsky – 'so absurd a formulation [of the question]',[180] a 'crude, vulgar prejudice'. The Fifteenth Party Conference much more indulgently related then to Trotskyism, which it blamed merely of *approximation* to Otto Bauer, than the composers of the Theses for the hundredth anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, who *wholly identified Leninism with the theory of Otto Bauer*.

On the next 231 and following pages of volume 41 of [the collected works of] Lenin it is explained why not a single of these 'social factors of force' by themselves can bring the working class victory in the struggle for socialism. Britain, France, Germany could then, on account of their multi-billion super-profits from the exploitation of the whole rest of mankind, feed the labour leaders, bribe 'in a thousand different ways', dispense cushy jobs, in the whole system of 'production and distribution', while the 'gradual organisation and activity of the working class' served for them only [as] additional support. It was necessary then to consider this *economic factor*, supplying the deeper root of opportunism, and in the words of Lenin be prepared 'to find it harder for the European and American workers' parties to get rid of this disease than was the case in our country'.

The editorial board of *Kommunist* attempted to save the *perverse* document, published [first] in *Pravda* through elimination of the three lines on 14, leaving the whole rest without any change. But the admitted largest mistake of the Theses may not at all be blurred over in such a way: it must be disclosed until the end, openly analysed before the Party, in order to prevent any possibility of its repetition.

The proximate lines of the Theses, left behind in [their] entirety on the pages of the journal, read, 'that under the impact of capitalist activity itself an ever greater number of workers of

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[179][For example Stalin's The Social-Democratic Deviation in our Party. Report Delivered at the Fifteenth All-Union Conference of the C.P.S.U.(B.)1 November 1, 1926.]

[180]Trotsky 1980, p. 141, Speech to the Fifteenth Conference, *The Challenge of the Left Opposition: 1926-27*, Pathfinder Press.

new professions and intelligentsia "*become aware*" of their whole dependence on the state monopoly system', *become convinced* of the necessity of replacing capitalism by a new social formation, [and] 'pour into the anti-imperialist movement'.

Such an appeal to 'consciousness' and 'conviction' remains an empty phrase in juxtaposition with the real economic forces. The composers of the Theses have allowed here that same 'jumping over' objective conditions, which they fault in other places so-called 'Trotskyism' and 'extremism' with.

Casual information of the Soviet and foreign press constantly testifies that into the anti-Soviet and anti-communist movement pours the same impressive mass, which in the words of the composers of the Theses joins in the anti-imperialist movement. Never did any 'bourgeois falsifiers' and imperialist 'instigators' by themselves form [?] this mass. Here is required an absolutely precise and true statement of objective facts instead of empty declamation and phraseology.

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From the "Diaries" of Professor I.K. Dashkovsky

Lenin on Anniversaries[181]

... Let us recall Lenin's aversion to any, especially newspaper political chatter, to the hubbub of parades, celebrations and ceremonies, anniversary speeches, banquets, meetings and farewell receptions, breakfasts, lunches and dinners, the continuous round dance of which has been filling the 'mass' information [channels] with its 'official' idle talk for a number of years now. On the day of his fiftieth birthday, April 23, 1920, Vladimir Ilyich arrived somewhat late to the party meeting organized for this occasion at the Moscow City Committee. He began by expressing gratitude for being spared the jubilee speeches, and left as a memento a well-known caricature from 1900 on the occasion of the jubilee of the populist writer N.K. Mikhailovsky, accompanying it with a request 'to spare us in future such jubilee celebrations in general' (PSS, vol. 40, pp. 325-327). In the same year of 1920, I [that is Dashkovsky] had to participate as a delegate to the 9th Congress of the RCP(b) at one of the

[181]We add this small excerpt, taken by us from Medvedev's *Political Diary* no. 67, April 1970 (pp. 660–61 in *Political Diary* 1972, Amsterdam). Medvedev quotes this Dashkovsky anecdote from some writing of Dashkovsky that he gives the general title 'diaries', which apparently is some other unknown work which Dashkovsky wrote.

last sessions of this congress in the Bolshoi Theater, when Lenin was sitting at the table of the Presidium of the congress and this time had to listen to the stream of jubilee speeches that had begun out of turn. This is no longer a humorous story about a caricature, but a history of the party, in which the ninth congress occupied a rather important place. It would therefore be appropriate to recall some serious details of this meeting. 'Our party', Lenin said at this congress, 'could find itself... in the very dangerous position of a person who has become arrogant. This position is rather stupid, shameful and ridiculous'.